THE AŚOKĀVADĀNA

THE

ASOKĀVADĀNA

SANSKRIT TEXT
COMPARED WITH CHINESE VERSIONS

EDITED ANNOTATED AND PARTLY TRANSLATED

BY

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Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati





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॥ तत्रभवते ॥

रवीन्द्रनाथाय

न दृश्यते रूपमतो न विद्यते नाशं गतोऽसाविति किं विकल्पसे ।
न पश्यसि प्राणमपीह चक्षुषा सत्ता कथं तस्य तथापि ते मता ॥
कथं नरः प्राणिति केन चानिति पोषैस्तनोरेव स किं नु जीवति ।
पुष्टेऽपि देहे मनसो रसं विना कथं नु जीवेन्मतिमान् स मानवः ॥
काव्यस्य नाटचस्य रसैश्च गीतकैर्जीवान्निहोज्जीवयितुं य ईहते ।
आ जन्मनो यस्य शताब्दमागतं तस्मै मया हृत्शतपत्रमर्पितम् ॥

'State power, like a hungry fire, greedily sets its flaming and covetous tongue to home after home, to village after village, to country after country. King Aśoka harnessed this all-devouring power to the service of welfare. He forswore the satisfaction of an indulgence which is insatiable and gave himself to tireless service.'

Rabindranath Tagore

FOREWORD

The original Sanskrit text of the *Aśokāvadāna* was edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil and published for the first time in 1886 (*cf.* The *Divyāvadāna*). Unfortunately it was full of corrupt readings.

Nearly for a century there was practically no attempt by any scholar, either from the East or from the West, to revise and re-edit this important ancient text.

The text of the *Aśokāvadāna* was translated into Chinese by different translators in different times. The oldest translation was made by Parthian Fa-ch'in *circa* 300 A.D. (*cf.A- yü-wang-chuan*, Nanjio No. 1459). The work became rapidly popular in China. Even as late as 512 A.D., it was re-translated by Saṅghabhara or Saṅghavarman (*cf. A-yü-wang-ching*, Nanjio, No. 1343).

That the Sanskrit text is very old may be evidenced from the earliest Chinese translation of the work. It must have been written in the second century A.D.

I am glad to note that Prof. Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya who has already edited several old Sanskrit texts, comparing them with their Chinese and Tibetan translations has edited the Sanskrit text of the *Aśokāvadāna* critically comparing it with its oldest Chinese version.

In this connexion, I should mention here that J. Przyluski translated the above mentioned oldest Chinese version into French and published it from Paris in 1923. Prof. Mukhopadhyaya, the present editor of the *Aśokāvadāna*, has utilized this translation along with the original.

Mainly with the help of this Chinese translation and occasionally with others, Prof. Mukhopadhyaya presents before the Scholars a correct edition of the *Aśokāvadāna.*

The edition is enriched with a scholarly Introduction in English and various useful appendices and notes. The variant readings of the MSS. and the Chinese versions are faithfully recorded in the footnote.

The Introduction contains:

(*i*) A synopsis of all the chapters.

(*ii*) English translation of the select pieces.

(*iii*) Textual criticism.

(*iv*) A discussion on the life of Aśoka, historic and legendary.

(*v*) A discussion on the Sanskrit MSS.

(*vi*) A discussion on the Chinese Translations.

(*vii*) A discussion on the date and author.

(*viii*) A discussion on the meaning and significance of the word *avadāna*.

(*ix*) A discussion on the striking resemblance between the composition of three stories of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* (the original of which is lost; the Chinese translation and a French translation from the Chinese are available) and those of the *Aśokāvadāna*.

The Appendixes contain:

(*i*) Life of Aśoka based on epigraphic records.

(*ii*) A chronological scheme of Aśoka's reign.

(*iii*) A chronology from the legends.

(*iv*) A few important Aśoka Inscriptions.

(*v*) Explanation of difficult technical terms, and peculiar words, references etc.

From the above list of topics it will be clear that this scholarly edition will create interest even among the lay public. For scholars, it is important as one of the oldest, post-Vedic prose compositions, and as a collection of old legends some of which are enriched with noble ideas, high ideals and beautiful composition.

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Principal
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Santiniketan
May 8, 1962

CONTENTS

LIST OF TOPICS

THE PĀṀŚUPRADĀNĀVADĀNA

Buddha's visit to Mathurā—His prophecy about a new Buddha—Story of Śāṇavāsin, the Preceptor of new Buddha Upagupta—Story of Vāsavadattā, the courtesan of Mathurā—Her amorous message to Upa°—Upa°'s promise to meet her in time—A rich client murdered by Vāsava°—Vāsava° disfigured and thrown out of the town—Meeting of the Saint and the courtesan—Her conversion, death and rebirth in heaven—Upa°'s spiritual discourses interrupted by Māra—Chastisement of Māra, with a chain of skeletons around his neck—Māra's appeal to gods to remove it—Gods' inability—Brahmā's advice to resort to Upa°—Māra relieved of his bonds—His reverence for the merciful Buddha who forgave him—His constant persecutor—Māra's repentance—His conversion—His miraculous performance: appearance of the graceful figure of Buddha—Māra as a preacher of the Good Law—Upa°'s great success as a Preacher—Attainment of Arhathood of his numerous disciples—Reference to an extraordinary gift: a handful of Dust presented to Buddha by a boy in Rājagṛha, Buddha's prophecy about the boy to be born as king Aśoka—Aśoka's ancestors—Bindusāra, his father—Aśoka and Vītaśoka born of the chief queen—Princes examined by Piṅgalavatsājīva—His prediction: that Aśoka would be the King—March of prince Aśoka to Takṣaśilā—Surrender of Rebels—Death of Bindusāra—Contest for the Crown—Death of crown-prince Susīma—Aśoka as an impetuous king—Story of Caṇḍa(impetuous)-Aśoka and Caṇḍa-Girika—Torture-house (or hell) of Caṇḍa-Gi°—Story of Saint Samudra—His influence on Aśoka—Aśoka's conversion—Destruction of Caṇḍa-Gi° and his hell—Collection of Buddha's Relics and construction of Monuments throughout Jambudvīpa—Caṇḍāśoka changed to Dharmāśoka. .. ..

THE VĪTAŚOKĀVADĀNA

Story of Vītaśoka—His contempt for the luxurious Śramaṇas—His devotion to the heretics—Aśoka's device to convert him—Kingdom granted to Vīta° for a week with announcement of capital punishment at the week's end—Aśoka's enquiries on Vīta°'s royal enjoyments—Vīta°'s remarks: he saw Death, tasted Death and nothing else—Aśoka's rejoinder: Śramaṇas see Death, taste Death while living in luxury—Vīta°'s conversion—His profession of asceticism—Austerities in a neighbouring country—Attainment of Arhathood—Visit to Pāṭaliputra—Reunion of brothers: the Saint and the king—Vīta°'s instructions to the king—His return to his former sojourn—His illness—Physicians and nurses sent to attend—Vīta°'s recovery—Falling of his hair—Image of Buddha insulted by a Nirgrantha (or Ājīvika)—King's order for persecution—A gold coin (*dīnāra*) offered for each head—Vīta° mistaken for a Nirgrantha for his hairless head and murdered by an Ābhīra—Head presented to Aśoka, and identified by physicians and nurses—Aśoka upset by bereavement—His assurance of safety to all. .. ..

THE KUNĀLĀVADĀNA

Episode of Yaśas, a minister of Aśoka—His dislike for royal homage to monks of low origin—King's collection of fresh heads of different

animals—His order to his ministers to sell them—A human head allotted to Yaśas—His inability to sell it—King's order to present it—Dearth of supplicant for such a repulsive thing—Yaśas advised by the king to acquire merit with the repulsive thing (*i.e.* by bowing his head)—Minister taught to honour virtue and the virtuous born in any caste—Story of Upagupta—His arrival at Pāṭaliputra—A grand royal reception—Union of the Saint and the king—Upa°'s instructions—His reference to Aśoka's "Gift of Dust"—King's proposal for pilgrimage—Pilgrimage to Lumbinī—Appearance of a god—His description of the baby Bodhisattva—King's donation of a hundred thousand ounces of gold—Construction of a monument there—Pilgrimage to Kapilavastu—References to: the first meeting of Śuddhodana with his son, father's salutation to the son, gods' salutation to the baby—References to: astrologers' prediction, Ṛṣi Asita, Mahāprajāpati, the foster-mother of the baby—Description of Bodhisattva's education—Physical culture of Bodhisattva—His enjoyment with sixty thousand wives—His experience of the first trance—Pilgrimage to: the place where Bodhi° became a monk, hermitages of Bhārgava, Ārāḍa and Udraka, the place of his rigorous austerities: where Bodhi° accepted honey and milk from Nandā and Nandabalā, where he took shelter under the Bodhi-tree, where Nāgarāja Kālika praised him—Appearance of Kālika—His description of Bodhi°—Reference to defeat of Māra and attainment of Bodhi—King's donation and construction of a monument there—References to: a miracle, offering of a meal by Trapuṣa and Bhalluka, eulogy on Buddha by the Ājīvika Upagaṇa—Pilgrimage to: Ṛṣipatana where the "Wheel of Law" was set in motion, where a thousand hermits with matted hair were converted, where Bimbisāra was enlightened along with 84000 gods and thousands of Brāhmaṇas of Magadha, where a miracle was wrought, where He descended from heaven, after preaching the Law to His mother—Pilgrimage to Kuśīnagara where He passed away—Donation of a hundred thousand ounces of gold—Construction of monument—King's desire to worship relics of Buddha's foremost disciples—Pilgrimage to Jetavana—Homage to Śāriputra's, Mahāmaudgalyāyana's, Mahākāśyapa's monuments—Grant of a hundred thousand ounces of gold for each—Homage to Batkula's monument who strove only for his own salvation—A small sum offered but refused and returned by the spirit—Homage to Ānanda's monument, donation of a crore for it—King's return to the capital—Aśoka's constant offering to the Bodhi(-tree): the best jewels offered—Queen Tiṣyarakṣitā's jealousy—Her attempt to destroy Bodhi(-tree) by charm—King's grief for the withering Bodhi(-tree)—Clarification of Tiṣya°'s misunderstanding who had taken Bodhi for a woman—Counter-action against charm—Showers of milk at the root—Revival of the Bodhi(-tree)—A Five-Year Festival in honour of Bhikṣus—Invitation to all Śrāvakas (disciples) of Buddha residing in Kāśmīra, Mahāvana, Raivataka, Mānasasarovara, in the caves of mountains, on the banks of rivers—Arrival of three hundred thousand monks—King's enquiry of the presidential seat remaining vacant—Surprising news of the survival of a direct disciple (*viz*. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja) of Buddha—His arrival. .. ..

Reminiscences of Buddha narrated by Piṇḍola°—His interview with Buddha, residing in Rājagṛha, after the enlightenment—Interview with Buddha at Śrāvastī where He wrought a miracle to defeat the heretics—Interview at Vārāṇasī where nun Utpalavarṇā wrought a miracle——His journey with Bu° to Puṇḍravardhana invited by Sumāgadhā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada—Bu°s command to him to live as long as the Good Law lasts—Reference to the 'Gift of Dust' which Piṇḍola° witnessed—References to: the residence of Piṇḍola° in the Gandhamādana mountain, his sixty thousand Arhat disciples. .. .. ..

ABBREVIATIONS

A	MS. No. A.	MS. of the University Library, Cambridge; collated by the Editors of the *Divyāvadāna*.
B	MS. No. B	Editors' own MSS.; collated by them, in preparing the edition of
C	MS. No. C	the *Divyāvadāna*.
Ch1	.. ..	Chinese translation of the *Aśokāvadāna: A-yü-wang-chuan* (A biography of king Aśoka), *Vide* Nanjio, No. 1459; Taisho, 2042.
Ch2	.. ..	Chinese translation of the *Aśokāvadāna: A-yü-wang-ching* (*Aśokarāja-sūtra*), *Vide* Nanjio, No. 1343; Taisho, 2043 (vol. 50).
Ch	.. ..	Chinese translations (both Ch1 and Ch2).
D	MS. No. D.	MS. given in 1837 by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society, Paris, collated by the editors of the *Divyāvadāna*.
Div.	*Divyāvadāna:*	Edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886.
E	MS. No. E.	Burnouf's MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Collated in Div.
MA	Manuscript Asiatic	MS. No. G 9982A of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, collated in the *Aśokāvadāna*.
M8	MS. No. 8	A.8 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, collated in the *Aśokāvadāna*.

DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

ABCDE	Copies of the same manuscript. The original is written on paper; and the writing is of the fine and small kind described at page xxxii of Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.* The MS. is assigned to the 17th century A.D. It measures 13″×3″ and has 265 leaves, with nine or ten lines on each page.
A	Add. 865 : in the University Library, Cambridge; 258 leaves, 14-15 lines, dated 1873. Fairly written in the ordinary Nepalese character, but not very correct.
B	Copy procured for E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil by Daniel Wright, while he was at the British Residency at Kathmandu. 283 leaves, 12-13 lines, very incorrect.
C	Copy procured for Cowell and Neil by Wright; 274 leaves, 14-15 lines, correct.
D	The MS. given in 1837 by B. H. Hodgson to the Asiatic Society at Paris; 337 leaves, 9 lines. This is a very correct copy. It is written in the ordinary Nāgari character.
E	E. Burnouf's own MS. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
MA	Microfilm of the MS. named *Divyāvadāna-mālā:* No. G 9982A of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Substance : seasoned palm leaf, 21¼″×2″. Folia 130 to 161; after fol. No. 153, fol. No. 154 is missing; +215 to 232. Marked in letter numeral written in Newari character of the 11th century. Appearance old dilapidated; 6 lines on a page. *Pāṁśupradānāvadāna* is found in this MS. on pp. 155a-161b (incomplete).
M8	Microfilm of the *Divyāvadāna-mālā.* MS. No. A.8 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Substance : yellow Nepalese paper, 17″×5½″. Folia 235. 9 lines on a page. Extent in *ślokas,* 9400. Character Newārī. Appearance old. Date *circa* 18th century. Prose. Incorrect. The *Vītaśokāvadāna* is found on pp. 132b—137a, and the *Aśokāvadāna* on pp. 137a—139b.

INTRODUCTION

In 1886, E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil published the *Divyāvadāna* from Cambridge. It contained among others the old text of the *Aśokāvadāna*. This text, like others of its kind, is written in Sanskrit. It consists of four chapters or sections, each of which is also named *Avadāna* in the MSS., *viz.* (*i*) *Pāṁśupradānāvadāna*, (*ii*) *Vītaśokāvadāna*, (*iii*) *Kunālāvadāna* and the (*iv*) *Aśokāvadāna*.

The first one contains several legends: one of Upagupta, the spiritual teacher of king Aśoka, one of Śāṇakavāsin, the teacher of Upagupta, another of Vāsavadattā the courtesan, the first convert of Upagupta. Still another, and a very interesting one, is the story of the conversion of Māra by Upagupta. The last is the legend of Aśoka, the cruel one (*Caṇḍāśoka*) and his conversion.

The *Pāṁśupradānāvadāna* or the '*Avadāna* of the Gift of Dust' is named so because Aśoka, in his former existence, while he was a child once offered with great respect a handful of dust to Buddha innocently assuming it to be *saktu* (powdered barley). The great merit which the boy acquired by this 'gift of dust' made him in his subsequent existence the emperor of vast Jambudvīpa. Aśoka is described as a very cruel person in his youth who killed men and even women whenever he found fault with them. So for his dreadful deeds he was called the *Caṇḍāśoka*. He was gradually changed by the influence of the Buddhist Śramaṇas. One of them, named Samudra in his lay life (the name he bore in his monastic life is not given), was the first to influence the young emperor. Ultimately, because, of his manifold meritorious deeds, *Caṇḍāśoka* was given the epithet of *Dharmāśoka*.

The second, the *Vītaśokāvadāna*, is the legend of Vītaśoka, the younger brother of king Aśoka who was at first devoted to the heretics. He used to taunt the Buddhist Śramaṇas and pity Aśoka because of his devotion towards them. Later on, however, he embraced Buddhism and renounced the world. The tragic death of this beloved brother, caused involuntarily and indirectly by Aśoka, moved him so that he changed thoroughly.

The third, the *Kunālāvadāna* too consists of several legends. It begins with the interesting story of how Aśoka humbled his minister Yaśas. After this it relates the story of the great meeting of Upagupta and Aśoka. The teacher Upagupta led the disciple Aśoka to the sacred places where the prince Gautama was born and brought up, practised austerities and attained Enlightenment; where he turned the 'Wheel of the Law'; where he breathed his last; where the great disciples Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Kāśyapa, Ānanda and others left their last remains—the relics. Then the legend of the queen Tiṣyarakṣitā who in envy attempted to destroy the Bodhi-tree is told and the story of the meeting of Aśoka and Piṇḍola Bharadvāja, a direct disciple of Buddha. After this, it relates the story of Kunāla which is one of the most pathetic stories ever written. The queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, like queen Kaikeyī of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was granted a boon by the emperor. In virtue of this boon, Tiṣya° became the queen empress of vast Jambudvīpa for a week. As soon as she came to the throne, she commanded the eyes of the prince Kunāla (her step-son) to be plucked out. This order was duly sealed and despatched to Takṣaśilā (Taxila) where the prince was staying. The lovely eyes, blue like the rare blue lotus, were plucked out. King Aśoka did not know of it. Later, when he met his blind son he was furious and wished to punish the queen with death. But the compassionate prince repeatedly implored him to forgive her. She was however not forgiven.

The *Aśokāvadāna*, the fourth chapter, describes how the great emperor spent the last days of his life. He was practically interned in his bed-chamber. It is a great tragedy that the emperor of a continent, a man who once used to distribute gold coins worth millions in charity had not a penny at his own disposal. He who had always been served in gold plates had them taken away, lest he might send them as gifts to the monastery. He had to take his meals in the earthen pots.

This chapter, embellished with poems that are jewel-like may be considered one of the best compositions of ancient literature.

The *Aśokāvadāna* is a very important text for its antiquity as well as for its literary value. It was composed before the third century A.D. Some portions of the text are exquisite and they may be ranked as classics. A free rendering of some of the remarkable pieces is given below:

THE SAINT AND THE COURTESAN

Not long before His passing away, while Lord Buddha was in Mathurā, He said to Ānanda, "Ānanda, a hundred years hence when I shall be no more in this world, there shall be a merchant named Gupta in this town of Mathurā. His son Upagupta shall spread the Good Law in this world like unto a second Buddha.

"Ānanda, do you see that dark blue line on the horizon there, far, far away ? It is the range of mountains called Urumuṇḍa. A monk named Śāṇakavāsin shall found a monastery there a hundred years from now. He shall ordain Upagupta."

The hundred years passed. Upagupta was born in Mathurā as the youngest child of an incense-merchant named Gupta. The child was remarkably handsome and extraordinary in his movements. He attracted the attention of Śāṇakavāsin, the High Priest. He came to see the boy frequently. Upagupta spent his childhood as well as his youth under the guidance of the High Priest who helped him to build up his character.

When Upagupta grew up, he followed the profession of his father. He was very honest and polite in dealing with his customers.

At that time, there lived in Mathurā a very beautiful young courtesan named Vāsavadattā. She was greatly attracted to the merchant Upagupta. One day, she sent her attendant to ask him to come to her. But Upagupta refused the invitation and replied politely, "Sister, it is not yet time for you to see me." Vāsavadattā thought that perhaps the merchant was hesitating because of her high fee of five hundred gold coins. She sent the attendant again with the following message: "Friend, I do not want money from you; come, I love you." But Upagupta refused again with the same reply, "Sister, it is not yet time for you to see me."

Time rolled on. Vāsavadattā enjoyed her life of luxury as usual. Princes and sons of millionaires were her guests. One day a young merchant from a foreign country came to Mathurā. He came to know that Vāsavadattā was the most beautiful courtesan of the town. He took with him the usual fee of five hundred gold coins and many precious gifts as well and waited at the gate of her house. The courtesan was in company of a young merchant of the town. When she was told of this rich new

client, she had the young man killed out of greed for the gifts and hid the body in a dustbin. Then she received her new client and entertained him.

In the meantime the friends of the young merchant began a search for him and discovered his dead body in the dustbin. They brought the crime to the notice of the king. He commanded the courtesan to be disfigured and thrown out of the town.

Vāsavadattā, the most beautiful girl in the kingdom, every limb of whose body was full of charm, lay disfigured in the crematorium of the town. She who had before attracted all who caught a glimpse of her, now attracted only vultures and such-like. Of her innumerable attendants only one maid remained with her.

Upagupta heard this. He reflected: "Once she invited me to go to her. Now is the time for me to accept that invitation."

In sympathy and compassion, he proceeded to the outskirts of the town. The attendant of the courtesan saw him and said to her mistress, "Upagupta, the incense-merchant, whom you once invited to come to you is coming. Surely he wants enjoyment."

With a deep sigh Vāsavadattā replied:

"Stained with blood are my mangled limbs !
My beautiful face is defaced;
This mutilated body now frightens all
Except vultures and cannibals."

In great anxiety she bade her maid, "Friend, bandage my limbs quickly !" The maid obeyed.

Upagupta approached and stood before Vāsavadattā. With tears in her eyes, the courtesan said:

"When this body of mine was like a lotus in full bloom
Graced with a hundred tender petals,
While its beauty enchanted even the gods,
You did not come, my friend !

"These graceful limbs are now scarred
And stained with blood,
The lovely face defaced.
How can a damaged body that attracts none,
Attract you, my friend ?"

Upagupta replied:

"Refrain from such profane speech, my sister,
Speak of this no more!
I have no attraction for the flesh;
Lust have I none.
Alas! Even the most lustful shall give up lust
When he sees the end which is its fate.

"On this dreadful day, think of Him,
The merciful Lord, whose mercy rains in showers on you
His forlorn child who is plunged in misery.
Who is there to take you across this ocean of affliction
Except Him who is the fountain-spring of compassion.
Take refuge in Him with all your heart,
The Lord of the lowliest and the lost."

He sat beside her and nursed her with the utmost care until she died. Inspired by the holy company of the selfless saint Upagupta, Vāsavadattā overcame her lust and attained the 'Divine Eye' before her death.

After this incident Upagupta renounced the world. Śāṇakavāsin, the High Priest ordained him.

A fine piece of classical composition, this story is found also in Kṣemendra's *Avadāna-Kalpalatā* (*vide* 72 *Pallava*). Here the Buddhist attitude towards womenfolk can be observed. In Pali, women are called *mātugāma* (Sans. *mātṛgrāma*) *i.e.*, the motherfolk. Women are neither hated nor neglected but respected as mothers by the adherents of the religion. Their company is avoided lest their physical beauty may tempt the religious. But whenever any affliction or calamity befalls women, as here, the Buddhist saints hurry to serve them even at the risk of their own lives.

This story with artistic modifications here and there, is immortalized in a beautiful poem by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore.

CONVERSION OF MĀRA

It was announced in the town of Mathurā that Upagupta, a Buddha without the auspicious marks on his body, would

preach the Law. Hundreds of persons assembled together to listen to the preaching of the great saint.

After his introductory speech, Upagupta was about to explain the Four-fold Noble Truth, when there was a shower of strings of pearls. The mind of the audience was agitated and no one could give Upagupta undivided attention.

Upagupta considered who had created disturbance ? And he saw that it was Māra, the tempter incarnate.

On the second day, a greater number of people assembled, because they had come to know that when Upagupta preached, strings of pearls fell out of space. And when Upagupta began to explain the Truth, as on the previous day, there was a shower of gold. Upagupta's preaching had no effect at all.

On the third day, thousands of people thronged the place. When Upagupta began to preach, Māra who was not far away, began a dance-drama. Divine instruments were played, and celestial girls danced. Even the holy men who had subdued their passions felt attracted by the heavenly beauties and the divine music. Māra was very pleased. He took a garland, went to Upagupta, and put it round his neck. Upagupta wondered why Māra had not been converted by Buddha. And he saw (with his divine vision) that Māra was to be converted by him.

So he took three skeletons, one of a snake, the other of a dog, another of a man. He transformed them into flower-garlands by his psychic powers and went up to Māra. Māra was transported with joy, 'O! I have attracted even Upagupta, a Buddha without the sacred marks,' he thought, and bent his head to receive the garlands. Upagupta put the garlands round his neck and said:

"Monks are against wearing garlands.
And men with passions detest skeletons.
So what thou hast offered me,
The same I present in return to thee."

Māra tried to take the skeletons off. But he was like an ant trying to remove a mountain; he could not do it. He flew up into the sky and said:

"I may fail to remove these skeletons
But there are other gods in heaven
Whose might exceeds both mine and thine."

The Venerable Upagupta said:

"Run to heaven and entreat the gods !
Be they Brahmā, Indra, or Upendra !
Enter into the hell's fire,
Or plunge deep into the depth of the sea.
No one can burn, dissolve, or break
These dreadful strings of bones
That hang around thy neck."

Māra went to Indra, to Upendra, to Kubera, to Varuṇa and to other gods; but when none of them could help him, he went to the Great Brahmā who said:

"Not that I possess no strength.
Mighty though I am,
Yet fire's heat cannot vie with
That of the great sun."

Māra said, "Tell me, whom shall I resort to ?" Brahmā said:

"Be quick ! Take shelter in him
Who bereft you of your fame and bliss.
For, he that falls upon the ground,
Takes its support to raise himself up."

Māra was extremely surprised at this answer. He thought:

"How powerful must the Blessed One be !
Even His disciple surpasses the Great Brahmā !
Indeed the forgiveness of the Compassionate One
Has saved me from great peril !

"I have molested Him repeatedly
Until He met His Great End.
Yet the Mighty One had spoken
Not a single word to pain me !"

He was sincerely repentant for his maltreatment of Buddha. He fell at the feet of Upagupta and confessing his sins implored him to undo the chains around his neck. Upagupta said, "I shall do it only on certain conditions."

Māra asked, "What are the conditions ?"

"From today onwards, you must stop molesting the Bhikṣus," replied Upagupta. "I will," promised Māra.

"And you have to do something else for me also," continued Upagupta.

Māra was pleased to hear this. He said, "Tell me, O Venerable, what is your command ?"

Upagupta replied, "You know I have left the world and become a monk, a hundred years after the passing away of the Blessed One. It was not possible for me to see Him in His mortal body. It would be a great favour to me, if you could show me the body of flesh of the Blessed One."

Māra said, "I will show you the same, on certain conditions." "What are the conditions !" asked Upagupta.

Māra replied, "You must not bow down before me ; for:

"With a heart so full of devotion to Buddha
If you show me even the slightest respect,
It will burn me to ashes.
The tender sprouts of the *eraṇḍa* cannot bear
Even a touch of the elephant's trunk."

The Venerable One said, "I will not bow to thee."

Māra said, "Kindly wait then. Let me enter the forest to take upon myself the likeness of Buddha."

Like an actor clad in a beautiful costume, Māra emerged from the forest in the garb of Buddha:

The marvellous body of the Blessed One
Adorned with its marks and sub-marks,
Pleased the eyes like ambrosia.
Like a precious painted portrait of Buddha, a masterpiece
It was fresh with colours and glorified the forest.

Māra, assuming the graceful figure of Buddha shone with a nimbus. He was accompanied by Śāriputra on his right, Mahāmaudgalyāyana on his left, Ānanda behind and 1250 Bhikṣus standing around in a semi-circle, like a crescent moon.

The Master approached Upagupta. Upagupta was transported with joy. He got up from his seat and gazed at the Blessed One, exclaiming:

"Fie upon the merciless impermanence
That destroys beauty such as this !
So full of grace was the Great Sage
And he was destroyed by the Great Instability."

Absorbed in his thoughts he seemed to see the real Buddha. He said:

"In sweetness, His face surpasses the lotus.
His eyes surpass the blue lily.
His loveliness exceeds the beauty of flowers.
The bull envies His glance.
The lion vies in vain with His majestic gait.
His appearance enchants us more than the full-moon,
Than the ocean, than the great radiant Meru.

"How powerful are the good actions !
How marvellous is their result !
Beauty like this is created by one's own deeds,
And not by any god at his sweet will.

"This beauty is created by the Blessed One
Through myriads of millions of aeons;
By His good actions—Charity, Tolerance,
Forbearance and the like.

"This spotless beauty soothes the eyes
Of all who behold it.
Even an enemy forgets his enmity,
Delighted by the charm of His beauty."

Thus plunged in the contemplation of Buddha, he prostrated himself at full length, at the feet of Māra. In great excitement Māra cried out,

"You should not forget your promise !"

Upagupta asked, "What was the promise?"

"The Venerable One promised that he would not bow to me," replied Māra.

Upagupta got up and said:

"Not that I do not know that
The Blessed One is no more living.
Like fire extinguished by water,
He has entered into the Great Bliss.
But this graceful figure is the same as His
As it appeared to my sight.
I paid my homage to Him
And not to you, indeed !"

Māra was astonished. He said, "When I saw with my own eyes that you bowed to me, how do you say that it was not me to whom you paid homage !"

The Venerable One replied:

"When a man bows to the clay-image of a god,
He bows not to the image but to the god.
Thus, when I bowed to thee
Who transformed thyself into the image of the Lord
I showed respect to the Lord and not to thee, indeed !"

Then Māra caused the image of Buddha to vanish, made an obeisance to Upagupta and disappeared.

And on the fourth day after, Māra announced by sound of bells: "You who pray for the supreme bliss, go to Upagupta and hear the Law from him:

"Do you want to shake off poverty,
The source of all ills ?
Do you aspire celestial thrones
Or the Bliss of Liberation ?
Approach Upagupta and listen to him.
Do not regret that you could not see
Buddha, the Great Compassionate One.
He has come down to you
In the form of Upagupta, the Divine Light
That illuminates the three states of existence."[1]

This is a poetical composition pregnant with dramatic elements. The Buddhist ideal of not destroying evil but converting it to good is expressed here in a magnificent way. Māra, the god of temptation, is neither destroyed nor conquered by force, as a king conquers his enemy. He is converted to the Good Law. No more does he tempt people to the evil way. Instead he persuades them to the Noble Path.

The latter part of this episode is most interesting where Māra is asked by Upagupta to show him Buddha in His mortal body. Māra acts in such a way that Buddha with His retinue of 1250 Arahants comes down as if from heaven and stands before

[1] (i) Sensual existence, (ii) *deva*-corporeal existence, and (iii) formless existence.

the saint in broad daylight. The scene is so vivid that the saint Upagupta forgets that it is only make-believe and not real. He falls down at the feet of Māra, taking him to be Buddha.

This reminds us of a well-known incident which occurred in a theatre of Bengal. There a famous actor played the part of a rogue so vividly, that one of the elite audience, the celebrated Iswar Chandra Vidyāsāgara hurled his slipper at the actor's head. The actor was thrilled with joy. He picked up the slipper and placed it respectfully on his head himself.

Here too, we see a great drama being acted by an expert actor. He plays his part so wonderfully that even the most elite audience, the saint Upagupta, takes it to be real.

The credit is due to Aśvaghoṣa, the celebrated author of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, from which this is reproduced. *Vide* É. Huber, *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, pp. 263-273.

AŚOKA, THE EMPEROR BEFORE HIS CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM

Aśoka, the son of Bindusāra, had just come to the throne of Pāṭaliputra. The young king soon became notorious for his cruelty. One day he beheaded his five hundred ministers. On another occasion, he burnt alive his five hundred queens, with his own hand, whereupon his friend, the minister Rādhagupta said, "Sire, it does not look well for an emperor to kill the culprits himself. Why does not Your Majesty engage an executioner ?"

At this, the emperor said, "Find me one."

At that time, there lived in a village at the foot of a hill, a weaver who had a son named Girika. From his very infancy, he had been extremely cruel. As a baby he used to kill ants and flies. When he was only a boy of tender age he killed birds, mice, and the like. He was as rude to his elders as he was cruel to his juniors. And because of his cruelty he was known throughout the country as Caṇḍa(Cruel)-Girika.

The officers of the king met him and asked him, "Will you be able to act as an executioner under the king ?" "Why not?" he replied, "I am able to kill everybody who lives in this vast Jambudvipa."

This was reported to the king. He wanted to see him. The officers again went to this cruel young man and asked him to accompany them. Girika said, "Let me bid farewell to my parents."

As it was some time before Girika came back, the officers enquired the cause of his delay. Girika replied, "My parents did not like this job and they argued with me ! However, I have silenced their voice, with the help of the sword. Come ! Let us be quick !"

The emperor appointed him the head executioner.

Caṇḍa-Girika was so fond of killing that he made the following curious proposal to the king:

"Sire, build a big palace. Make it so beautiful that all who look at it will be attracted; then allow me to kill everybody who enters !"

The emperor agreed to his proposal.

This palace was the most beautiful building in the capital and in it the most horrible acts of torture went on. How many innocent persons lost their lives in this hell ! But it looked like heaven from outside!

Once a Śramaṇa came to the town of Pāṭaliputra. He was the son of a merchant who used to sail always with his family. This son was born while on the sea and so was named Samudra (sea). For twelve years the son practically knew no land. Pirates attacked the boat of this merchant and killed everyone on it except the boy who managed to escape. This orphaned boy was given shelter in the Monastic Order of Lord Buddha.

While begging in the streets of Pāṭaliputra, the Śramaṇa was attracted to the palace of Carnage. When he entered he was surprised to find that the house which was so beautiful outside was so dreadful within. As he was coming out, Caṇḍa-Girika stopped him at the gate and shouted, "Where do you go ? Death awaits you here in this hell !"

The Śramaṇa began to weep. Caṇḍa-Girika cried in anger, "Why do you cry like a child ?" The Śramaṇa replied:

"Not that I dread death, as common people do !
Death is a hindrance to this holy life of mine
That I have just begun.
After death, shall I be resurrected in human flesh ?

"Alas ! It is difficult to obtain this blessed existence !
It is difficult also to obtain the bliss of renunciation,
In the Law of love and compassion of the Enlightened One.
Fortunate I was to attain them
And sad I am to part with them."

The Śramaṇa prayed for a month's time, but Caṇḍa-Girika granted him only a week.

For seven days, day and night constantly reflecting on death, the Śramaṇa purified his mind and prepared it for Enlightenment.

When he was in this state of mind, there was an incident in the royal family. A prince fell in love with one of the queens. The emperor sent both of them to the prison-house of Caṇḍa-Girika. They were pounded to death with an iron rammer in an iron vessel.

Seeing these two beautiful persons, murdered in such a horrible way, the Śramaṇa cried in compassion:

"The charm of youth, sweetness and tenderness incarnate !
O physical beauty which is the greatest attraction
  to the people of the world;
What end it meets ?
Is it a dream ? Is it an illusion ?
Where have those beautiful beings disappeared
  in the twinkling of an eye !
Is this world a creation of magic, a kingdom of mirage,
A pyramid of bubbles ?"

Having seen this dreadful scene with his own eyes, his mind detached itself completely from the physical world. Reflecting on this the whole night, he became free from all worldly bonds. Thus he attained Arahantship and sang in ecstasy:

"Here in this dreadful den of the devil,
In this hell of carnage,
How could I attain the Divine vision ?
Wonderful indeed is the compassion
  of the Compassionate One !
Blessed is this prison-house where I crossed
The boundless ocean of births and deaths."

On the seventh day, when the night was over, Caṇḍa-Girika

called him, "Śramaṇa ! The night is gone ! The sun is rising !"

The Śramaṇa said, "Yes, my friend, the night is gone !

"The dense darkness of delusion
That covers the human soul has disappeared.
The night has passed, the sun arisen !
The pilgrim has reached his goal.

"The destitute has found an inexhaustible
store of treasure !
Today he can give whatever is asked of him.
Do you wish to take this life ?
Do accept it as a humble gift, my friend."

Caṇḍa-Girika caught hold of the saint and threw him into the large iron pan, filled with blood and bones and marrow and water. Lighting the fire in the oven under it he tried to heat it.

But when the water would not boil even though he piled faggots high, he was very much surprised. He looked inside the pan and found to his utter astonishment that the saint was seated cross-legged in the centre, absorbed in ecstasy. He reported this to the king. Overcome with a great curiosity, the king came to the prison-house.

When he saw the extraordinary scene, the king was spell-bound. With folded hands he prayed to the saint, "What service can I do, Your Holiness ?"

The saint replied, "King, the Lord said: 'When a hundred years will have passed after the passing away of the Blessed One, an emperor named Aśoka shall rule at Pāṭaliputra. He shall propagate the doctrine of love as taught by Buddha throughout the world !'

"O king, what the Blessed One said will come to pass. Give up these evil ways. Your mission is not to kill but to protect.

"Therefore, O king, give an assurance of safety to all sentient beings ! Let those two strong arms of yours shield the world!"

The emperor replied, "Let it be so."

The saint disappeared.

And when the king was about to come out of the prison-house, Caṇḍa-Girika stood in front of him and said with folded hands, "Sire, you promised me that I may slay whoever enters into this house."

The king exclaimed : "What ! You want to kill even me ?"
Caṇḍa-Girika replied, "Yes Sire."
The king asked, "Just between us, tell me who was the first to enter ?"
He replied, "It was I."
So Caṇḍa-Girika was beheaded and the dreadful den of the devil demolished.

This is an interesting episode from the *Pāṁśupradānāvadāna.* If anyone be tempted to search for history in this, he will be misled. History tells us that Aśoka was a cruel king, in his early days. But should he be painted like this ?

That Aśoka was a cruel king while he was young is confessed by himself in one of his rock edicts. There he says: "The country of Kaliṅga was conquered when king Priyadarśin, the Beloved of the gods, had been anointed eight years: one hundred and fifty thousand were captured from there. One hundred thousand were killed and many times as many died (as the consequence of burning and sacking)...

"Even one hundredth or one thousandth part of those who were slain or were captured in Kaliṅga is today considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods. Nay, if any one does him wrong, the Beloved of the gods must bear all that can be borne."[1]

Aśoka was so repentant for this cruelty that he inscribed on rocks "Separate Kaliṅga Edicts" where he repeatedly says: "By the command of the Beloved of the gods, the Mahāmātras of Tosalī (or Samāpa) who are the city Judiciaries should be addressed thus: You have indeed been set over may thousand of lives in order that you may certainly gain the affection of men. All men are my offspring. Just as for my offspring I desire that they be united with all welfare and happiness of this world and the next, precisely I desire for all men..."

This story must be read as a story and not as history. One thing is to be noticed; it is the tone of religious propaganda. Even the most cruel man in the world can be changed into a great compassionate one by the influence of Buddhism, with this idea in mind, some orthodox missionary might have composed the story.

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[1] Rock Edict XIII. It is found in Kalsi (in the Dehradun district, U.P.).

VĪTAŚOKA, THE BROTHER OF AŚOKA THE GREAT

The Emperor Aśoka had been converted to Buddhism. By his unique devotion and enterprise, the whole of India became attracted to the Good Law. But his own brother Vītaśoka was still devoted to the heretics. He had been preaching: "There is no Liberation for the Buddhist monks because they live in luxury."

One day, the emperor went out a-hunting accompanied by his brother Vītaśoka; while wandering in the forest, Vītaśoka met an ascetic who was practising austerities in the midst of five sacred fires. Being attracted to this ascetic he bowed to him and asked, "Blessed One, how long have you been here ?" The ascetic replied, "For twelve years !" "What food do you take ?" "Fruits and roots." "What are your garments?" "Clothes made of grass." "What is your bed ?" "A heap of dry grass." "Do you feel any pain at any time ?" The ascetic replied, "My heart burns with lust when the deer and its mate make love."

Vītaśoka reflected: "If in the mind of this stern ascetic, lust can find a place, is it possible for the luxurious Buddhist monk to control his senses ?"

He exclaimed:

"He lives in solitude, far away from the people;
He lives on air, water and roots and sleeps on grass;
Still his heart burns with lust !
The Śramaṇa who lives on kingly dishes
Śāli rice with fish and abundant meat.
With milk, curd and butter flowing
Can such a one control his senses ?
The Vindhya mountain then can float in the sea !

"Alas ! The king is deluded by these Buddhist monks for whom he has so much respect !"

The king overheard what Vītaśoka said. He thought out a plan to correct the wrong notions of his brother. The ministers were summoned. The king commanded them, "When I enter the palace to take my bath, you must persuade my brother by some means or other to put on my royal dress, crown and sit upon the throne."

When the king put off his dress and went to take bath, the ministers approached Vītaśoka and said, "Prince ! you are to become king when your royal brother is no more. We are eager to see how you will look when you will sit on the throne wearing the royal dress and crown."

Vītaśoka assented and seated himself on the throne dressed and crowned like the king. After some time, Aśoka entered. When he saw this scene he pretended to be furious. He roared: "I am not yet dead ! How do you dare to sit on my throne ? Who is there ? Where are the executioners ?"

Several executioners entered. The king commanded, "Take him !" Immediately Vītaśoka was surrounded by those people.

The ministers fell at the feet of the king and begged for mercy, "Be kind, O Lord ! He is your brother !" The king said, "Well, as he is my brother, let him enjoy the kingdom for a week ! He can be beheaded afterwards !"

No sooner had the king given this command than a sweet music on various kinds of musical instruments was heard, accompanying the harmonious voices of beautiful damsels. Vītaśoka was surrounded by hundreds of handsome attendants, both men and women.

All kinds of pleasure and articles of luxury fit for the emperor of a continent were at his disposal.

The executioners dressed in dark-blue uniforms, however, stood at every door.

When a day had passed, they cried, "King Vītaśoka, one day is already gone; six remain !" Thus they reminded Vītaśoka that his days were numbered.

At the end of the seventh day, Vītaśoka was brought before king Aśoka. Aśoka demanded, "How did you enjoy the music and dance ?" Vītaśoka replied:

"Who listened to the melodies,
Who watched the dances,
Who enjoyed the luxuries,
Let him answer thy questions !"

The king exclaimed in astonishment, "You have been king for a week ! It is you who enjoyed the songs, and dances of the beautiful girls ! How can you say that you have not watched them !"

Vītaśoka said:

"I saw no dances of damsels.
I heard not their music.
I did not even feel their tender limbs
Adorned with gold clinging to me!
Dance, music, riches, things of luxury,
The earth filled with gems, beauty and youth,
All were empty to me, they yielded me no pleasure.

"Reposing on the most comfortable couch of the world
I passed my nights without any sleep;
When I saw at every door, the executioners
With their dark blue garments on, like the jaws of death!"

The king said, "My dear brother, when the fear of death constantly possesses the mind of a man, no luxury in the world can attract him; this you have experienced well!

"Do you know, that the mind of a Śramaṇa is always possessed with the fear of death,—not only with the fear of death that is coming but with the thought of innumerable future deaths? When such is the case, how can his mind be attracted to objects of luxury or sensual pleasure?

"Amidst various pleasures, detached remains his mind,
Like the drop of water on the leaf of a lotus!"

Vītaśoka was then attracted to the Good Law. He prayed:

"I take refuge in Him
Whose eyes are like the full-bloomed lotus!
I accept the Dharma and the Saṅgha
Preached and founded by Him!"

Hearing this, the king embraced his brother and said,

"I did not wish to kill you, my brother. It was done only to attract your mind to the Good Law!"

Vītaśoka devoted his heart and soul to the Good Law. Every day he worshipped the *caitya* (monument of Buddha), served the Saṅgha, and listened to the Good Law.

One day, he went to the Kukkuṭārāma. There he found the High Priest Yaśas who had attained Arahantship. When he had examined Vītaśoka he came to know that Arahantship was awaiting the prince. He preached the merit of renunciation.

Vītaśoka was much impressed. He prayed for his initiation into the Monastic Order. The Sthavira said, "You must have the consent of the king."

Vītaśoka came back to the palace, approached the king and said:

"Like a mad elephant without a driver
I was running amuck to peril !
When by thy grace I attained
The Good Law and bliss of mind.

"Today I beg a boon, be kind and permit me to renounce the world !"

At this the king embraced his brother and with tears in his eyes he said, "Brother, give up this desire for renunciation. It is very difficult. You are a prince, brought up in luxury. How can you beg from door to door ? How can you sleep on the hard ground under a tree ? How can you wear the simple garb of a monk ?"

Though his elder brother requested him repeatedly, with tears flowing from his eyes, Vītaśoka did not change his mind. He said:

"The swing of births and deaths
Moves constantly to and fro !
He who swings with it is sure to fall !
Separation is destined of all from all !

"Brother, when you know so well that this is the way of the world, why do you object to my renunciation ?"

So Aśoka came to know that Vītaśoka was determined. Then he said, "Brother, first practise begging here in the palace." Vītaśoka agreed. The ladies of the palace gave him the best of food when he begged of them. The king, noticing it, told them to give simple food, food fit for a monk. But when Vītaśoka sat down to eat the simple food he was given, Aśoka wept and prevented him. As he could not bear to see such a pathetic sight, he at last permitted his brother to renounce the world, only asking him to return after he had attained to perfection.

Vītaśoka thought he should leave his native place and go to a foreign country. He would renounce the world there and live by begging.

Within a few years of his renunciation Vītaśoka attained to Arahantship. And as he rejoiced in the perfect Bliss, he remembered the request of the king. He came back to Pāṭaliputra. When he reached the palace the man at the gate informed the king that the prince had come back. With heart filled with joy the king ordered, "Bring him in at once !"

When Vītaśoka came and stood before him, the king fainted and fell down. After he regained consciousness he examined every limb of the Arahant. Then he wept and said:

"When there is no flow of emotion
Even in meeting his dearest kin, after years;
He has plunged into the state
Of the greatest Bliss indeed!"

The minister Rādhagupta who had been an intimate friend of Aśoka from his boyhood days, was watching Vītaśoka keenly. He saw the dirty garments, the earthen bowl and the poor food in it. He said to the king:

"Whose mind is free from attachment
Whose body free from disease;
He enjoys festivals everyday
Everywhere he lives in peace !"

The king embraced the Arahant and seated him on a high seat. With his own hand, the king offered him the best food. When Vītaśoka had taken his meal, he was requested to preach the Good Law. He did so. Then the Arahant said to the king:

"O king ! Govern your kingdom with vigilance !
Respect the Good Law and serve the Saṅgha.
Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha
These three are the most precious Jewels
Indeed they are difficult to obtain."

Vītaśoka, the Arahant, left the town of Pāṭaliputra. The emperor Aśoka followed him to see him on his way, accompanied by five hundred ministers and a crowd of thousands of citizens.

The Arahant went to the frontier of the kingdom where he lived. There he fell seriously ill. When the king came to know of his illness he sent physicians and nurses. Vītaśoka was cured; but due to this illness he lost his hair.

Henceforth, he lived mainly on milk and therefore dwelt in a village of milkmen. He begged his food. At that time, an incident occurred which greatly enraged the king. A follower of the Nirgrantha (Mahāvīra) painted a picture, showing Buddha prostrating Himself at the feet of the Nirgrantha. Aśoka ordered all the Ājīvikas of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal) to be killed. In one day, eighteen thousand Ājīvikas lost their lives[1].

A similar kind of incident took place in the town of Pāṭaliputra. A man who painted such a picture was burnt alive with his family. It was announced that whoever would bring the king the head of a Nirgrantha would be rewarded with a *dīnāra* (a gold coin). As a result of this, thousands of Nirgranthas lost their lives.

One night, Vītaśoka was sleeping in the house of a milkman. Noticing that his head was almost devoid of hair, his clothes dirty and nails long, the milk-woman mistook him for a Nirgrantha. She whispered to her husband, "Why don't you kill this man and earn a *dīnāra* from the king ?"

The milkman, tempted by the reward of a *dīnāra*, drew his sword and approached the Arahant. Vītaśoka saw him. He meditated and came to know he was to die in this way as the consequence of an evil deed done by him in his former life. He calmly faced his death.

When the head of Vītaśoka was brought before the king, he fell to the ground in a faint.

The royal family was overwhelmed with grief. The whole city lamented this tragic end of the Saint prince. The kingdom was plunged in gloom.

When the king's grief was abated somewhat, the ministers said, "Henceforth, O Lord ! Be kind and offer an assurance of safety to all sentient beings !"

With a heavy heart the emperor replied, "Let it be so !"

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[1] The author of this *Avadāna* seems to have confused the Nirgranthas (Jains) with the Ājīvikas. They were two different sects founded by Mahāvīra and (Maskariputra) Gośā(sā)la respectively, who are considered to be the last Tīrthaṅkaras of these two sects.

Mahāvīra and Gośāla practised austerities together for some time. It is said that Gośāla attained to Jinahood first and he had great influence in the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine. Afterwards, when differences arose, they parted from each other.

The Ājīvika sect existed until the 14th century A.D. Finally they lost their identity and merged with the Digambara Jains, Śivaites and others.

This is one of the best chapters of the text. The subject, the style, the composition, everything here is remarkable. In every *śloka* there is a poetic touch. One important thing in particular is to be marked. That is the tragic ending of the story. Sanskrit dramas, poems or stories, as a rule, have happy endings. Here is an exception.

But the great defect is also to be noticed. Here too Aśoka is described as dreadfully cruel. If the central figure of this story were not a historic personage as great and well-known as Aśoka, we would have nothing to say. To say that Aśoka, whose devotion to *all* religious sects is unique in the history of humanity (as is well-known through his edicts[1]) persecuted the Jains or the Ājīvikas is simply absurd. And why speak of Aśoka alone ? There was no Buddhist king anywhere in India who persecuted the Jains or the Ājīvikas or any other sect. In order to show the greatness of Buddhism, the orthodox author degraded it by painting the greatest Buddhist of the world as a dreadful religious fanatic.

HOW AŚOKA HUMBLED HIS MINISTER

Aśoka, the emperor had just been converted to Buddhism. He had great reverence for the Monastic Order of the Lord. Whenever he met a monk he bowed at his feet.

Some of the ministers did not like that the emperor should thus touch the feet of monks many of whom had formerly belonged to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. One day the minister Yaśas bowed to the king and said, "Sire, it is not proper for the emperor of a Kṣatriya family to bow his head down to the feet of all monks, irrespective of their castes."

At this, the king became grave. He gave no reply to this remark. A few days later the emperor summoned his ministers and said, "I would like to have the heads of a few hundred different animals, including that of man. Bring them at once. They are urgently required."

The ministers, long accustomed to the strange orders of the capricious emperor, brought the heads.

[1] *Vide* the edicts in the Appendix—B

The king distributed the heads among the ministers and commanded, "Sell them in the market."

All the ministers sold the heads allotted to them in the market except the minister Yaśas who had been given a human head.

With fear in his heart Yaśas approached the king and reported that he could not sell the human head.

The emperor said, "If people do not want to pay for it, give it as a gift."

Yaśas, the minister, sent the human head again to the market but there was none to take it even as a gift. He went to the king and said:

"With a high price they bought the heads
Of cattle, sheep, deer and donkey
And even those of birds.
The human head,
Though offered without a price
Was accepted by none !"

The king asked, "Why has it not been accepted ?"

Yaśas replied, "Because it is repulsive."

"Is this particular head repulsive, or are all human heads repulsive ?" the king asked.

"All human heads are repulsive," was the reply.

"My head too, is it repulsive ?" the emperor asked.

The minister was silent.

When the king pressed him, Yaśas with folded hands, faltered, "Sire, I dare not answer such a question."

The emperor encouraged him and said, "Speak out the truth. I assure your safety."

Still trembling in fear the minister replied, "Your Majesty, even the emperor's head is repulsive."

Aśoka exclaimed:

"Though it is graciously offered
Without charging any price
Still there is none to accept it !
Such an useless detested thing !
If by bowing it one can win
invaluable merit,
Why dost thou hesitate my friend ?

"Dost thou seek virtues of the holy men
Who are saviours of the world
Or dost seek their origin ?
Doomed thou art in thy delusion !
High caste is a dream !
Thou must not delude me.

"Castes may have a claim in marriage.
In religion to make a claim for it is absurd !
The Law stands on virtue.
Do virtues seek the origin of the man
Before they enter his heart ?

"My friend, it is not meet for a minister to hold the king back from the Right Path."

The minister Yaśas had a good lesson.

From then on, he bowed his head at the feet of all holy persons irrespective of their castes.

This story is to be found in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, pp. 90-96.

THE LEGEND OF KUNĀLA

On the day the construction of eighty-four thousand monuments over the relics of Buddha was completed by Aśoka, his queen Padmāvatī gave birth to a son. The child was beautiful, its eyes being specially attractive. The king remarked:

"Indeed I am happy today !
My heart is full to the brim.
I have served the Law and gained a son !
May the Law be served by him."

When the ministers heard this remark, they named the prince Dharma-vardhana or the 'Promoter-of-the-Law'. The baby prince was brought to the king. He said:

"His eyes are like the blue lotus in full-bloom,
They adorn a face as lovely as the full-moon."

"Have you ever seen such eyes anywhere ?" asked the king. The ministers replied, "Never have we seen such eyes among

the children of men, but there is a kind of bird called kunāla that lives in the Himalayas which has eyes like this."

"I want to see the bird," said the king. Immediately the bird was brought. After carefully comparing both, the king could not find any difference between the eyes of the baby prince and those of the bird; so he called his son Kunāla.

When the prince grew up, he was initiated into all the sixty-four arts. Soon he became proficient in many of them, especially in music. When he attained youth, he was married to a lovely princess named Kāñcanamālā.

One day Aśoka visited the monastery Kukkuṭārāma and took Kunāla with him. The High Priest there, known as Yaśas, had attained psychic powers. He came to know that those charming eyes of the prince were soon to be destroyed.

When the prince bowed at his feet, he recited:

"O prince, the source of all suffering are the eyes !
Watch them constantly with the utmost care.
Fickle by nature, friends they are not indeed.
But foes in friends' disguise.
Of this, the vulgar are not aware.
Hence they follow the eyes and fall into sin's snare."

Devoted to the Good Law by his very nature, Kunāla listened to this lesson with due respect. From then on, he used to meditate on the unreliable nature of the eyes and on the horrible crimes which the vulgar commit through their attachment to beauty of form.

One day while he was thus meditating in a secluded part of the inner apartments, Tiṣyarakṣitā, the chief queen, attracted by the beautiful dark blue eyes of the young prince, came there, embraced him and said:

"When on your lovely face I gaze,
So charmingly adorned with bright blue eyes,
The pangs of love in my bosom rise
In my heart, flames of passion blaze !"

When Kunāla heard this he closed his ears at once with his hands and exclaimed:

"Mother ! Pray stop this sinful speech !
Forget not that I am your son !

Leave this ignoble path, I do beseech
That to the dark dungeon of hell doth reach !"

Thus refused, Tiṣyarakṣitā was furious :

"Passionately enamoured I came to thee,
And thou refusest me !
Insolent youth ! But soon
Thou shalt meet thy doom !"

Kunāla replied, "I fear not to meet death, but I must meet it treading on the Right Path."

Since then Tiṣyarakṣitā began to seek for an opportunity to take revenge on the prince.

At that time, in Northern India, the people of Taxila revolted.

The emperor himself was about to start for Taxila at the head of his army, when the ministers said, "Your Majesty might send the prince on this expedition." The emperor liked the idea and sent for the prince.

When Aśoka learnt that the prince was willing to go and was quite competent for such an undertaking, he gladly agreed.

The capital city of Pāṭaliputra, with all its streets and lanes, was beautifully decorated. The old, the sick and other miserable creatures were removed from the public roads. The king accompanied the prince up to the gates of the town. There he embraced the prince and gazed at his eyes. With tears the king remarked :

"Blessed are they ! Their eyes are full of grace !
Who will always see this lovely lotus-face !"

When the people of Taxila heard that the prince was coming, they decorated all the houses, streets and lanes; and placed pots of water (*ghaṭas*) and other auspicious emblems at the gates of the town. Then they set out to welcome the prince. When they met him, they said, "We are not opposed to the prince or the king. The wicked ministers insulted us and so we revolted." They received the prince with great pomp and honour.

Meanwhile king Aśoka was suddenly attacked by a serious illness. He vomited constantly and his whole body exuded foul secretions. Treatments were of no avail. The king said, "Send for the prince ! I wish to crown him before I die."

Tiṣyarakṣitā, the chief queen, heard this. 'If Kunāla becomes

the king,' she reflected, 'I shall be put to death. I must see that he does not succeed to the throne.' She approached the king and said, "I shall cure Your Majesty of this disease. But the physicians must not be allowed to come to the palace." Then she called the physicians to her own chamber and said, "If a similar patient is found anywhere, let him be brought to me."

An Ābhīra suffering from the same disease was brought to the physicians. They sent him to the queen. The queen had him slain secretly and examined his stomach. A big worm was found in his intestines.

The queen put powdered chillies on it, but it was not destroyed. Similarly she used pepper and ginger with no effect. At last she poured on it the juice of onions, and the worm was killed.

She went to the king and said, "Your Majesty should eat onions." The king remarked, "I am a Kṣatriya, how can I eat onions ?" The queen replied, "They may be taken as a medicine to save life."

So the king ate onions, the worm was purged and he was completely cured. The king was very pleased. He wished to grant the queen a boon. Tiṣyarakṣitā folded her hands and said, "May Your Majesty be graciously pleased to make over your kingdom to me for a week." The king agreed. Tiṣyarakṣitā was put in charge of the whole empire for a week.

She said to herself, "Now is the time for me to take my revenge on Kunāla." Immediately she drafted this command:

"The Sovereign of this vast Jambudvīpa,
Aśoka, the mighty one, gives this order:
Kunāla, the prince is a disgrace to my name,
His eyes must be plucked out without delay !"

Urgent orders of the emperor Aśoka were always sealed with a seal shaped like a denture. In order to obtain the seal the queen entered the bed-chamber of the emperor. He was sleeping. Suddenly he woke alarmed. The queen asked, "What has happened to Your Majesty ?" "I had an unlucky dream," the king replied, "As if two vultures were about to pluck out the eyes of Kunāla !" The queen said, "May it be auspicious for the prince !" Thus twice the king woke up alarmed. The second time when the queen again asked him, the king replied, "I saw the prince Kunāla with long unkempt hair

and beard, dressed in dirty clothes, entering the capital." The queen consoled him saying, "May it be auspicious for the prince !"

When the emperor was asleep once more, Tiṣyarakṣitā sealed the command and sent it to Taxila. The emperor was dreaming that his teeth were being broken.

Early in the morning, Aśoka sent for the astrologers and asked them, "What does this dream mean ?" They quoted this:

"He who dreams his teeth are broken,
His son loses eyes by that token."

Frightened, the king stood up, and with folded hands began to pray:

"The gods who once adored the Lord,
Still grace His Law and the Assembly of monks ;
The sages who are honoured by the whole world,
May shield from harm my virtuous son."

When the order for Kunāla's punishment reached Taxila, the people there were greatly surprised. They all loved the prince so much that, at first they were reluctant to inform him. But afterwards they reflected that the king who was so ruthless as not to pardon even his own son, would never pardon others who dared to disobey his orders. So they showed the order to the prince. The prince read it and calmly said, "Do your duty without any hesitation."

The executioners were called, but they refused to perform the heinous deed. They said:

"Only fools would rob the beauty of the moon and its grace,
And pluck the eyes from this lovely moon-like face !"

Hearing this, the prince offered his crown and said, "He who plucks out my eyes shall have it."

Alas ! What armour is there against fate ? A horrible ugly creature marked with eighteen evil signs, advanced from the crowd and said, "I will pluck out his eyes !"

The man was taken to Kunāla. Just at that moment the saying of the sage Yaśas began to ring in his ears:

"O prince, the source of all suffering are the eyes.
Watch them constantly with the utmost care !

Inconsistent by nature, friends they are not indeed,
But foes in friends' disguise !
Of this, the vulgar are not aware.
Hence they follow the eyes and fall into sin's snare !"

Absorbed in this thought the prince commanded:
"First, pluck out one eye and give it to me."

When the cruel wretch was about to pluck out the eye, the crowd gathered there cried out in grief:

"Alas ! The lovely lotus is plucked from its beautiful bed.
From the crystal azure the moon's stainless lustre is shed."

Whilst they lamented thus, the brute plucked out one of his eyes and gave it to the prince. The prince calmly took it and said:

"Where is thy power fled !
Why dost thou no beauty perceive ?
Alas ! Those who call thee their own thou dost deceive !
Of this, the vulgar are not aware.
Hence they follow the eyes
And fall into sin's snare !"

With this thought was his mind then occupied,
While men and women in their thousands cried.
Illusion's veil was suddenly rent in two,
And the first touch of bliss divine he knew !

"Pluck out the second eye," the prince ordered, and as the beast in human form obeyed, Kunāla cried out in ecstasy:

"The eyes ! The finest of created things are gone !
And yet I feel no pain !
For though the eyes of flesh are lost,
The Divine eyes I gain !
The forlorn son of the sovereign of the world
Has been adopted as His child
By the Lord of the Law.
Deprived of material wealth, the source of all suffering,
I have gained wealth eternal, free from the pangs of sorrow
And stings of remorse !"

When Kunāla came to know that the order was not from his

father, but from the queen Tiṣyarakṣitā, he prayed for her:

"May Her Majesty live a long life, hale and healthy;
By whose good grace I have attained my goal !"

Like a bolt from the blue came the news to the princess Kāñcanamālā, the wife of Kunāla. She ran through the crowd, and fell senseless at her husband's feet. When she regained consciousness, she lamented:

"Where are they gone, those lustrous eyes ?
Ever they dwelt on me and showered love
And thrilled my heart ! Where are they now ?
Gone, gone for ever, darkening that bright face,
His eyes ; nay my life itself has left my flesh !"

Kunāla consoled her:

"Our life is guided by our former deeds.
Pleasure and pain result from them alone.
Dost thou not see, dear, that the world entire
Suffers the pangs of sorrow and separation ?"

Kunāla and his wife were driven out from Taxila. The forlorn prince and princess used to sing and beg from door to door. Thus they came, after a long time, to the Capital. They were not allowed to enter the palace as the sentries took them for ordinary beggars. Helpless and unrecognised they took shelter in the king's coach-house.

In the early dawn, playing on his *vīṇā*, Kunāla began to sing:

"Examine the senses with the light of wisdom.
Swim across the waves of births and deaths !
Liberate yourself from lingering agonies,
Plunge deep into the depth of Bliss !"

The king was asleep. He got up startled and said:

"I hear in my dream the sweet melody
That is so familiar to me !
Is it Kunāla, my darling prince who sings ?
I know not why my whole body trembles !
Is my spirit about to fly in quest of my loved son ?"

He ordered a servant to bring in the prince at once. The servant searched here and there but nowhere could the prince

be found. At last he came across the beggar and his wife who were still singing in the coach-house. He reported to the king that it was not the prince singing but a beggar and his wife.

The king in great haste ordered:

"Let him be a beggar ! Be quick ! Bring him at once ! The anxiety for my son that fills my heart is choking me !"

The beggar with his wife was brought before the king. The broken-down blind man in rags and tatters was not fully recognised as the prince, even by his father ! With an anxious heart the king questioned, "Are you Kunāla ?" Hearing the reply, the emperor fell to the ground.

When he looked at his son's face,
Pale as the waning moon,
Bereft of the sparkling glance, sorrow broke his heart.
The sovereign of the world fell senseless on the earth.
When he regained consciousness, the king embraced his son.
Tears brimmed in his eyes.
Tenderly he caressed him and wiped his face.
In mournful tones he said:
"Thy eyes were beautiful like those of the kunāla;
Hence that name was given you.
When I see no more those lovely eyes,
How can I call thee Kunāla, my darling ?"

The mournful tones of the king mingling with the loud laments of the queens echoed through the palace:

"Lovely as the lotus, they charmed the world !
Who plucked those sparkling eyes ?
Like the sky bereft of its moon and stars,
Thy face is robbed of its lustre !"

When Aśoka came to know that the queen Tiṣyarakṣitā had committed this heinous crime in his name, his grief and fury knew no bounds. But Kunāla calmly consoled his father:

"Restrain thy rage, O father !
Knowest thou not, our sufferings
Result from our own past deeds ?
With our own toil, each of us
Has created a world of his own,
Filled with sorrow as well as bliss !

Whom shall I blame ? Whom wilt thou punish ?
It is my own fault—the fountain of my tears !
I know not when in my former birth
I planted the poison-tree whose fruit I now taste !"

But the father could find no consolation. The mighty emperor grew more and more furious:

"Shall I pluck out her eyes with iron tongs ?
Shall I hack her body limb from limb ?
Fix her on the stake ? Cut out her tongue with a knife ?
Poison her ? O tell me, how shall I kill
This cruel shameless wicked woman !"

Kunāla affectionately embraced his father; with a calm and compassionate heart he sang:

"Mother has committed a sinful deed.
Would you too do the same, my father ?
Forgive her ! It is neither hatred nor violence,
But love, compassion and tolerance,
That calm the troubled mind.
My heart is devoid of hatred, free from all anger.
My mind is without any stain of sorrow or regret.
The filth of ill-will that might have soiled my heart,
Is washed away by the flow of compassion
    of the Compassionate One.
If what I say is true, my lost eyesight will be restored."

As soon as the prince had finished speaking, Lo ! His lotus-like eyes bloomed again !

In the *Pāṁśupradāna*° and *Kunāla*° several stories are jumbled up. They are not at all well connected. Originally they were several stories separately written which were afterwards joined clumsily. Our theory is supported by the Chinese (and Tibetan) translations of the text. There they are kept as separate stories, with different names. We have adopted the same names in the text. The general headings as found in the MSS. are also retained.

The story of Kunāla separated from the jumble as we have given above, is a masterpiece. In translation, the beauty of the original is lost to a great extent. The *ślokas* are written in different metres which cannot be reproduced in translation.

The legend of Kunāla may be named as the "legend of the lovely eyes". The eye has become the subject-matter of this story. It is remarkable how beautifully the metaphysical ideas and ethics of the Buddhists are transformed into a wonderful creation of art. The lovely eye which is a thing of beauty and which inspired a thrill of joy in all who glanced at it brought disaster to its possessor. To what great height of perfection a human soul may rise and also to what depth of degradation it may fall, are shown in the sublime personality of Kunāla and in the wicked nature of the queen Tiṣya° respectively. This woman was highly intelligent, wonderfully clever and extraordinarily wicked as well as cruel. Without the least hesitation she could order an Ābhīra patient to be killed in order to examine his stomach so that she might find the remedy for the disease which had attacked the king. In the same way, she could easily order the eyes of her step-son to be plucked out.

This story of Kunāla is given in verse[1] in the *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra (1100 A.D.). The last verse[2] of the *Kunālāvadāna* is reproduced in the *Avadānakalpalatā:*

राजन् न मे दुःखलवोऽस्ति कश्चित् तीव्रापकारेऽपि न मन्युतापः ।
मनः प्रसन्नं यदि मे जनन्यां येनोद्धृते च स्वकरेण नेत्रे[२] ।
तत्तेन सत्येन ममास्तु तावन्नेत्रद्वयं प्राक्तनमेव सद्यः ।। LIX. 160-61.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE EMPEROR AŚOKA

Not long before his death, Aśoka asked the Śramaṇas, "Who has given the largest donation to the Monastic Order ?" The Śramaṇas replied, "Anāthapiṇḍada, the householder." "How much did he give ?" questioned the emperor. "A thousand millions," the Śramaṇas replied.

[1] Only the forged order for plucking out the eyes of Kunāla is given in prose which runs thus:
svasti śrīpāṭaliputrād asamasamarasāhasasamāsāditasamastasindhusīmāsamuccha-lad aviralavimalayaśaḥkalāpakalitadhavaladukūlavasudhāvadhūdattabhogasaubhāgya-garvakharvīkṛtavipularipupratāpaḥ śāpa ivārātiramaṇīvilāsānāṁ praṇatiprativimbitān-antasāmantavaktraśatapatraikapātrīkṛtavimalamaṇipādapīṭhaḥ suhṛtkulakamalavikāśavā-sareśvaraḥ sphītaśauryamauryamahāvaṁśavanapañcānanaḥ śrīmad aśokadevas takṣaśilā-dhipaṁ śrīkuñjarakarṇaṁ sambodhayati. yathā: eṣa me nirapatrapaḥ kucaritamaitrī parisrastacāritraḥ . . . samutpāṭitalocanamaṇir nirvasano nirvāsyatām . . . ity asmad abhyarthanāpraṇayaḥ.

[2] *Kunālāvadāna ; me nayane svayaṁ hi.*

Aśoka reflected: "How wonderful ! Anāthapiṇḍada was only a householder. He gave a donation of a thousand millions. Even the emperor cannot give so much !"

He said to the monks, "I also will give you a thousand millions."

After that the emperor began to spend hundreds of gold coins for the uplift of the masses, for education, for the establishment of monasteries, for building monuments and rest-houses in sacred places. He gave in all nine hundred ninety-six crores to the Monastic Order. Still he could not fulfil his promise. He fell ill and was confined to bed.

"I may die before I keep my promise," this thought made the emperor restless.

The minister Rādhagupta who had been a very intimate friend of the emperor from his boyhood noticed how Aśoka was plunged in despair. He asked:

"The majestic and lustrous countenance
That of old shone like the mid-day sun
Was difficult for even gallant enemy
generals to look upon.
The face that kissed the lovely lotus-faces of the fair
Is clouded with gloom. Why so my lord ?"

The emperor replied calmly, "My friend, it is not for the fear of parting with my kingdom or my life that I feel gloomy. I feel sad when I think that I shall have to part with these saints so devoted to the service of humanity:

"No more shall I serve the Assembly of the Śramaṇas
The embodiment of all good qualities.
No more shall I live in their sacred company.
When I think of this, my heart is grieved
And tears flow from my eyes.

"Besides this, the other thought that pains me extremely, my friend, is this: 'Death will snatch me away before I fulfil my promise to give a thousand millions to the Monastic Order.'"

'I shall fail to keep my promise' this thought made the emperor restless, and in great haste, he began to send gold, gems and other valuables to the monastery called Kukkuṭārāma.

At this the crown-prince ordered the treasurer to stop all charities.

The emperor could no longer make any gift. In despair he sent to the monastery the gold plates in which his meals were served. When this was reported to the prince, meals were no longer served to the emperor in gold plates. Silver ones were used instead. Those too, the emperor sent to the monastery.

When the crown-prince came to know this, he ordered that no valuable plates should be used by the emperor. The result was that the emperor had to take his meals in earthen dishes.

He was practically interned in his chamber. Servants watched him, so that he could not send anything outside the palace. Only such things as were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of an old man were sent to him. Those too were only for his own use; he could not send them away.

When such was the plight of the emperor, he summoned his ministers and asked, "Who is now the sovereign of the world ?"

With folded hands Rādhagupta replied, "Your Majesty." Aśoka sighed and said :

"Speak not untruth, in sympathy for me, my friend.
Where is my royal influence ? I am bereft of all my grace !
The sovereign of the world is now plunged in the depths
of dreadful penury.
Today he is worse off than a beggar; he possesses nothing
Except this withered piece of an *āmalaka* fruit.

"Truly the Blessed One said: 'Wealth and riches are the cause of calamity.' How could His saying be otherwise ? My commands are obeyed no more. They are cast away like a stream striking a great rock:

"He suppressed the affray and tumult,
Uprooted proud rivals and enemies,
Ruled as the only sovereign of the world,
Served miserable and suffering humanity !
Now he himself is miserable and suffering.
King Aśoka, deprived of his kingdom,
Resembles the *aśoka* tree that withers
Bereft of its twigs, leaves and flowers."

Aśoka then called a man who was standing near by and said, "Friend, keeping in mind that Aśoka once did good to

you, will you kindly take this *āmalaka* fruit to Kukkuṭārāma? Will you be so good as to give it to the Elder there and convey this message: 'Aśoka, the emperor of Jambudvīpa, sends his last gift to the Monastic Order. The only treasure that he possesses now is this broken piece of *āmalaka*. With all humility he presents this. Will Your Holiness find out some means to serve it to all the monks of the monastery?'"

"As Your Majesty commands," said the man and immediately went to the monastery, bearing the last gift of the emperor.

There he gave it to the Elder and said:

"The sovereign of the world, who, in glory,
Once shone like the mid-day sun,
Is deprived of his kingdom.
Today he shines no more, like the setting sun.

"With all humility he bows to you and humbly presents this gift which bears the stamp of fickleness—the mark characteristic of all the riches of the world. He says:

"This is my last gift
My kingdom and riches have all come to their original state of void.
He for whom the physicians with their thousand and one remedies have given up all hope,
Takes refuge in you, the last shelter of the shelterless."

The Elder accepted the gift and said to the monks, "Brethren, here is a golden opportunity for you to show aversion for all worldly desires. The Blessed One said: 'When a person sees others' calamities, he should reflect on them and thus cultivate indifference to worldly objects.'

"Who will not feel an aversion for worldly desires on hearing the lamentable condition of the emperor, if his heart is tender?

"The sovereign of the world is now but a captive!
He has to obey the orders of his servants!
Alas! The penniless monarch sends us
A withered *āmalaka* as his last gift."

The Elder ground it into powder, mixed it in their soup and distributed it among all the monks of the monastery.

After this event, the emperor summoned his minister Rādha-

gupta and asked, "Who is now the sovereign of the world ?"

Rādhagupta replied with folded hands, "Your Majesty."

Aśoka with a great effort lifted himself a little from the bed and looked around. He bowed to the Good Law and said:

"I present the beautiful earth to you—
Adorned with the charming blue robes of the oceans,
Decorated with corals, pearls and gems.
O Assembly of monks !
May it serve you—the saviours
Of the lowliest and the lost.
As a result of this charity,
I crave not to be born in heaven
Nor in the sacred world of Brahmā.
I hanker no more for the kingdom of this world
That is as unstable as rushing water in a flooded stream.
May the merit accruing from this gift of a kingdom
So endowed with devotion,
Make me the supreme lord of the mind.
Grant me the treasure of the realm of spirit
That is neither wasted nor robbed."

Then the emperor, with the help of his minister Rādhagupta, executed a document for this gift and set his seal to it.

Thus having made a gift of the whole empire to the Monastic Order, Aśoka breathed his last.

After the funeral of the king when the ministers were about to crown the prince, Rādhagupta disclosed that the kingdom had been given away as a gift.

In great surprise the ministers asked, "Why was the kingdom given away as a gift ?"

Rādhagupta replied, "King Aśoka promised to give a thousand millions to the Monastic Order. When nine hundred sixty millions were given, the treasury was closed to him. For the remaining sum he gave away the kingdom."

At once the sum of forty millions was sent to the Monastic Order and the kingdom redeemed. Prince Sampadī, the grandson of Aśoka, came to the throne.

This is the best of all the literary pieces included in the text of the *Aśokāvadāna*. Here the hero, the great Aśoka, shines in the glory of a character as bright as the sun. The saint-king gave

away all he possessed before he breathed his last[1]. And in return, he prayed for what ?

"As a result of this charity
I crave not to be born in heaven
Nor in the sacred world of Brahmā.
I hanker no more for the kingdom of this world
That is as unstable as rushing water in a flooded stream.
May the merit accuring from this gift of a kingdom,
So endowed with devotion,
Make me the supreme lord of the mind.
Grant me the treasure of the realm of spirit
That is neither wasted nor robbed. "

A prayer so great and sublime cannot be uttered by any but a king of men. And indeed he was a king, a king of kings, the noblest king who ever reigned in this world.

A prayer like this had never before been found *anywhere* in ancient literature.

So the last chapter, the least in size, is the best in all respects, of all the chapters of the *Aśokāvadāna*. The composition is simple and lucid. The verses, so full of human feelings, are like fresh and beautiful and fragrant flowers.

Let us quote a few of the original verses:

The old king fell seriously ill before he could fulfil his promise; and so he was grieved. Tears rolled from his eyes. Minister Rādhagupta, the intimate friend of the king asked why he wept:

यच्छत्रुसङ्घैः प्रबलैः समेत्य नोद्वीक्षितं चण्डदिवाकराभं ।
पद्मानननश्रीशतसंप्रपीतं कस्मात् सबाष्पं तव देव वक्त्रं ।। *cf.* p. lii.

When the king was practically interned in his room and had not even a farthing at his disposal, he asked his ministers, "Who is the king of the world ?" Rādhagupta replied, "Your Majesty indeed is the king." Aśoka exclaimed:

दाक्षिण्यादनृतं हि किं कथयथ भ्रष्टाधिराज्या वयं
शेषं त्वामलकार्धमित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मम ।
ऐश्वर्यं धिगनार्यमुद्धतनदीतोयप्रवेशोपमं
मर्त्येन्द्रस्य ममापि यत् प्रतिभयं दारिद्रमभ्यागतं ।। *cf.* p. liii.

[1] Again I request my readers to remember that it is only a story and not history. It may be taken as a portrait of Aśoka drawn by a master artist which does not resemble Aśoka as a photograph but expresses his character.

आज्ञाप्य व्यवधूतडिम्बडमरानेकातपत्रां महीम्
उत्पाट्य प्रतिगर्वितानरिगणानाश्वास्य दीनातुरान् ।
भ्रष्टाऽस्थायतनो न भाति कृपणः संप्रत्यशोको नृपः
छिन्नम्लानविशीर्णपत्रकुसुमः शुष्यत्यशोको यथा ।। *cf.* p. liii.
एकच्छत्रां समुच्छ्रयां वसुमतीमाज्ञापयन् यः पुरा
लोकं तापयति स्म मध्यदिवसप्राप्तो दिवा भास्करः ।
भाग्यच्छिद्रमवेक्ष्य सोऽद्य नृपतिः स्वैः कर्मभिर्वञ्चितः
संप्राप्ते दिवसक्षये रविरिव भ्रष्टप्रभावः स्थितः ।। *cf.* p. liv.

This episode also is reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa.

In the *Avadānakalpalatā*, we find this story in brief, in a few verses which are quoted in the Appendix.

AŚOKA, THE HISTORIC AND THE LEGENDARY[1]

The legends of Aśoka found here (and elsewhere) have no historical foundation. They should all be taken as stories and not as history. In all of them except the last one there is the tone of missionary propaganda of the Buddhists of ancient times. In order to demonstrate before the naive common people that even the most cruel man in the world may be changed into the most compassionate and the noblest of men, by the influence of Buddhist teachings, Aśoka is represented as the *Caṇḍāśoka* or *Kālāśoka* in his youth.

When we study these legends, we must efface from our mind first of all the historic Aśoka and then attempt to estimate their legendary and literary value.

As legends, they are attractive and interesting. As literature the work is valuable as among the first post-Vedic Sanskrit prose compositions. Even today some portions from them may be chosen as good literary compositions and a few may even be ranked as classics.

The historic Aśoka is great and perhaps the greatest of all the followers of Buddha. He is second to none but Buddha. In his youth he aspired to be great; first as a great emperor, a

[1] *Vide* Appendix; where a short sketch of his life based on epigraphical evidence is given together with his life that is legendary.

victorious king. But after the victory he achieved through bloodshed in Kaliṅga he began to change. Whether he had Upagupta or Tissa as his spiritual guide, it is very difficult to say, as there is no historical (epigraphic) evidence, only the traditions.

The great moral influence of that glorious age exerted by the holy persons, monks and nuns, their devotion and selfless service to suffering humanity roused in the heart of the emperor the dormant 'Universal love' (*maitrī*) for all living beings. This love was expressed in his compassion for the miserable, in his sympathy for the sick, in his charity to the poor and destitute, in his giving assurance of safety to helpless and shelterless humanity. His voice is still ringing in our ears: "All men are my offspring. Just as for my own offspring, I desire welfare and happiness, so do I desire for all men."

In his heart of hearts he was a king emperor, a victorious emperor. So when he gave up the idea of the conquest of kingdoms by the might of his soldiers, he dreamt of and realised a virtuous victory over kingdoms with the help of his spiritual followers, his comrades in the realm of spirit (*Dharma-mahāmātras*). This glorious conquest, flavoured by love and inspired by Universal compassion (*karuṇā*) for all sentient beings, was declared by him, in his edicts, the best of all conquests[1].

THE MSS. COLLATED IN THE PRESENT EDITION

Our text is based mainly on the MSS. readings recorded in the *Divyāvadāna*. Besides these, we received microfilms of two MSS., *viz.* MS. No. G 9982A and the MS. No. A. 8 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the former, only the chapter *Pāṁśupradāna* (and that too incomplete) is found, while in the latter, only two chapters, the *Vītaśoka*° and the *Aśoka*° are found. None of them contains the chapter *Kunāla*°.

The MS. No. G 9982A is found only in fragments. It is now in a very miserable condition. As it may not last for long, we made a microfilm of the whole of it and got it printed in an enlarged form.

All the MSS. collated by Cowell and Neil in the *Divya*° are

[1] "The chiefest conquest is the conquest of Right and not of Might." Rock Edict XIII

copies of a single original which belonged to Pandit Indrānand of Patan, Nepal. He was the son of Guṇānand, the old Pandit then attached to the British Residency. Bendall, while he was in Nepal, borrowed this original MS. from Pandit Indrānand, the material of which is paper. Bendall assigned it to the 17th century A.D.

The editors of the *Divya*° made the following remarks about this MS. in their Preface (p. vii):

"Our MS. authorities therefore go back immediately to only one source, and our various readings are simply the result of the greater or less care of the respective transcribers; we can only at best reproduce the inaccessible Nepalese original; and where that is imperfect or corrupt, our MSS. give us no further help.

"This original is no doubt unusually correct for a Nepalese MS.; but it is corrupt in many places; and if we may judge by the passage in p. 21 which we have endeavoured to explain by the corresponding passage in the Pali *Mahāvagga*, some of the corruptions are very deep-seated and hopelessly beyond any mere verbal emendation. The old fragments of Nepalese MSS. which we have collated for App. B, shew that many of the errors in our present text are of very long standing. We have tried to give an intelligible text as far as it was possible; but where our original was hopeless, 'et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem', we have not attempted to force a meaning but have left it in its obscurity."

So we cannot expect any remarkable difference in the MS. readings of the *Divya*°. There is rarely any distinctive difference between our MSS. or between them and those of the *Divya*°. Still, our MSS. helped me in some places. But none of them could throw light on most of the obscure readings. There the Chinese translations helped me to a great extent.

CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF THE TEXT

The *Aśokāvadāna* went to China by two different routes and in two remote periods. It was Fa-ch'in of Parthia who translated it first into Chinese at about 300 A.D. Afterwards in 512 A.D., a Śramaṇa of Funan who was named Seng-ch'ieh-p'o-lo (Saṅgha-bhara ?) translated a different recension. The work became

rapidly popular in China, because in the year 516 A.D., the compilers of the *Ching-liu-i-siang* inserted numerous portions of it in their work.

We know almost nothing of the life of Fa-ch'in of Parthia. From the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, we come to know only this, that he translated five Buddhist works at Lo-yang between 281 and 306 A.D., of which three had already been lost in 730 A.D.

Saṅghabhara or Saṅghavarman was a polyglot monk originally of Funan. Knowing that the Ch'i dynasty (479-501) favoured Buddhism, he went to China and settled in the Cheng-kuan monastery at Nanking. From 506 A.D. onwards, for seventeen years the emperor Wu of the Liang engaged him in translation of Buddhist works, along with other scholars. Thus he translated into Chinese eleven works in 48 chapters, one of which is the *A-yü-wang-ching*. It is said that the emperor Wu himself went to write down the holy texts dictated by him.

The two translations of the *Aśoka*° can be identified with certainty. All the catalogues agree in assigning the *A-yü-wang-chuan* in 7 chapters to Fa-ch'in of Parthia. This version was translated completely into French by J. Przyluski and published from Paris in 1923. I am grateful to him for this valuable translation of which I have taken full advantage in the text I have edited.

The title and the division of chapters of this work are not always the same. It is divided sometimes into seven and sometimes into five chapters and by turn it is named *A-yü-wang-ching* and *A-yü-wang-chuan*. Przyluski has always retained the latter title and I have followed him.

When the different catalogues are examined, the other translation that comes to notice is the *A-yü-wang-ching* in 10 chapters, the work of Saṅghabhara. This is the traditional title which is retained by Przyluski in his French translation of the *Aśoka*°.

The contents of the *Aśoka*° found in these two translations are probably complete. Besides these, long pieces have been incorporated in the Sanskrit text of the *Divya*° as well as in the *Tsa-a-han-ching* (Nanjio, 544; Taisho, No.99) which is the Chinese translation of the *Saṁyuktāgama*. The original of this work is lost. It was translated between 435 and 468 A.D. by Śramaṇa Guṇabhadra of Central India.

This *Saṁyuktāgama* which is similar to a great extent to the Pali *Saṁyutta-Nikāya* contains all the chapters of the *Aśoka*° except the *Vītaśoka*°. They correspond remarkably to the Sanskrit text of the *Aśoka*°.

The *Pāṁśu*° and the *Kunāla*° are found in chapter 23 while the *Aśoka*° is at the end of chapter 25.

This last one is separated from the former two by topics entirely different from them.

The pieces preserved in the *Divya*° which were known to scholars in the West through the French translation by Burnouf are very near to the corresponding chapters of the *A-yü-wang-ching*. On the contrary, the *A-yü-wang-chuan* is remarkably different from all the recensions. It contains important readings which are not found elsewhere and so they are recorded at full length in the *Aśokāvadāna* edited by me.

It is to be noted here that I utilized the French translation of the Chinese by Przyluski which is a very faithful translation. Hence, the comparison of the Sanskrit text with its Chinese versions was not so difficult for me.

The *Aśokāvadāna*, except the story of Kunāla, has no Tibetan translation. The story of Kunāla was translated into Tibetan[1] by the Indian Pandit Padmākaravarman and the Tibetan Lochaba Ratnabhadra (*Rin. chen. bzaṅ. po*) in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. It is called *Kunālāvadāna* in Tibetan. But the other legends that precede the legend of Kunāla in the Sanskrit text are not found in it. The legend of Kunāla in Tibetan agrees with the Sanskrit text, though there are additions of passages here and there. For example, when Kunāla was born and when he was married, there are additional passages describing the pomp of the celebration.

In Tibetan, the story of Kunāla begins thus: "Obeisance to all Buddhas and Boddhisattvas. Aśoka had then approached the third part of his life. In the first part of his life, he was called the ambitious Aśoka (*Kāmāśoka*). In the second part, he was called the impetuous Aśoka (*Kālāśoka* or *Caṇḍāśoka*). In the third, he was known as Aśoka, the Just (*Dharmāśoka*)". After this, it reads: *yasminn eva divase*°, *i.e.* the same as the Sanskrit text.

[1] Narthang edition: *Bstan. 'gyur. Mdo. 'grel. Ū*, pp. 281ª-99ᵇ. (Visva-Bharati Xylograph, pp. 256ª-70ᵇ). Dege: *Bstan. 'gyur. dul.ba. Su*, pp. 227ᵇ-40ª.

THE DATE AND THE AUTHOR OF THE *AŚOKĀVADĀNA*

We know nothing about the author or the compiler of the *Aśokāvadāna*. His name is not mentioned either in the Sanskrit text or in the Chinese (or Tibetan) versions.

About the date of its composition, we can with certainty fix a period, with upper and lower limits. A version of the text was composed between the second and the third century A.D. The following materials will lead any one to this conclusion: (*i*) In three of the four chapters of the *Aśokāvadāna*, passages are reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa[1] which was composed between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. (*ii*) In one of its chapters there is mention of king Puṣyamitra (*c.* 187-151 B.C.) who is described as the persecutor of Buddhism. (*iii*) In two of its chapters there is mention of the Roman coin denarius (*dīnāra*) which came to India during the first century A.D. (*iv*) The text was translated for the first time into Chinese in 281-306 A.D.

Considering the fact that a certain period must necessarily elapse after the composition of a work before a compiler takes extracts from it or a translator translates it into a foreign language, we may approximately fix the date of the *Aśokāvadāna* as the 2nd century A.D.

WHERE WAS IT COMPOSED ?

Przyluski thinks that the *Aśokāvadāna* was composed in the region of Mathurā. He states the following in support of his theory:

"The legend of Buddha had already become fixed in its essential features. One could not dream of removing towards the West the place of the principal scenes of his life. It was necessary to imagine new episodes in order to prove the sanctity of the places recently converted.

"It was pretended that Buddha, a little before his end, had

[1] Those who doubt the authorship of Aśvaghoṣa are requested to read the following articles of Sylvain Lévi:

(i) *Aśvaghoṣa, le Sūtrālaṃkāra et ses sources, Journal Asiatique,* Juillet-Août, 1908.

(ii) *Encore Aśvaghoṣa, Ibid,* Octobre-Décembre, 1928.

visited the region of the Northwest where he performed miracles and predicted the advent of Madhyāntika and Upagupta. This voyage is recorded in a certain number of writings, notably in the *Aśokāvadāna* and in the Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin.

"In the *Aśokāvadāna,* Upagupta is converted by the Bhikṣu Śaṇavāsa, the Apostle of Mathurā, while in the Vinaya of the Mūla° by Madhyāntika, the Apostle of Kashmir[1].

"In the Vinaya of the Mūla°, Buddha travelled with Vajrapāṇi. He arrived first in the high Indus valley; while in the *Aśoka*°, Buddha travelled with Ānanda. He arrived first at Mathurā and then went to Kashmir.

"In the Vinaya of the Mūla°, Buddha made a prediction of the Bhikṣu Madhyāntika and that king Kaniṣka would build a *stūpa.*

"In the *Aśokāvadāna* Buddha prophesied the coming of Upagupta of Mathurā. The author of the Vinaya of the Mūla° wanted to glorify Kashmir and its neighbouring regions, while the author of the *Aśoka*° had to glorify Mathurā first."

Stating this, Przyluski remarks: "The *Aśoka*° and the Vinaya of the Mūla° must have been composed in the occidental regions; the first in Mathurā and the second in the further North."

THE MEANING AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WORD *AVADĀNA*

Scholars have discussed at great length the meaning and the significance of the word *avadāna.* We note the substance here in brief:

Max Müller in his translation of the *Dhammapada* writes that the word *avadāna* is derived from *ava dai*[2], a legend, originally a pure and virtuous act, afterwards a sacred story, and possibly a story, the hearing of which purifies the mind.

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[1] That Upagupta was born in Mathurā and was converted by the Bhikṣu Śaṇavāsa is confirmed even by the Vinaya of the Mūla° which in one place makes the following (self-contradictory) statement: "Āyuṣmān Ānanda said to the Bhikṣu Śāṇika (Śaṇavāsa), 'In the kingdom of Mathurā, there will be a Gandhika named Gupta...his son Upagupta...you will convert him and make him leave the world.'" *Le nord-ouest de l'Inde.,* p. 519. *Cf. JA.,* 1914, II, pp. 495-522 & 538-40.

[2] *ava+dai* (to cleanse).

Feer, in his French translation of the *Avadānaśataka*, remarks that *avadāna* is an instruction which shows by facts the link which exists between an act and its inevitable consequence (p. xiv).

Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature*[1] observes that the word was used in the following senses: (*i*) a deed (*karman*) (*ii*) a deed accomplished in the past (*karma vṛttam, ativṛttam*) (*iii*) heroic deed (*parākrama*) pure deed (*śuddhaṁ karman*) (*iv*) occurrence, history (*itivṛtta*).

T. W. Rhys Davids writes that the word *apadāna* means 'pure action', 'heroic action'; the book is a Buddhist *Vitae Sanctorum.* When the Buddhists, in the first century of the Christian era began to write in Sanskrit, these stories lost none of their popularity. The name was Sanskritized into *avadāna.*

J. S. Speyer says in his preface (p, ii) to the *Avadānaśataka:* "Outside the Buddhist world the Sanskrit word *avadāna* is used to denote illustrious actions and feats. So Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 11, 21) relating that Rāma obtained a supernatural weapon from Viśvāmitra who was pleased with the *heroic conduct* of his pupil, says that he got it मुने:. . .अवदानतोषितात्; and in a similar manner the word occurs in *Kumāra* 7.48. Similarly Daṇḍin employs it in the 2nd *ucchvāsa* of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* of *Daśakumāra*°. Pandit Tārānāth Tarkavācaspati who provided his edition of that romance (Calcutta, śaṁv. 1929) with a sober *ṭikā,* explains in note 2 on page 84 पूर्वविदानेभ्य: of his text by पूर्वेषां ख्यातवृत्तेभ्य:. In another text, composed by a fervent Buddhist, *avadāna* is twice used with that meaning of 'glorious performance,' see, *Jātakamālā*, iii. st. 23 and iv. 2. It must originally, however, have had a larger sense. Amarasiṁha who was a Buddhist and who mentions in his Dictionary अवदान[2] amid terms of the most common employment in Buddhistic sacred texts, explains it by कर्म वृत्तम्, that is 'history' or भूतपूर्वं चरित्रम्, as it is glossed in the *ṭikā* (iii. 2, 2)."

After the above discussion Speyer observes:

"An *avadāna* (*apadāna*) is in proper sense 'something cut off; something selected'. In the language of liturgy this term was applied to the portions of the *havis* offered to the deities. In common speech this word indicative of something 'selected, taken apart' went to signify 'notorious facts' *facinora;* especially

[1] Vol. II. p. 158 ff.

[2] *apadānam ity api pāṭhaḥ.—Amarakośa*

when taken in *bonam partem*, 'illustrious—, glorious achievements'. Yet in Buddhism, a more general sense is often applicable to the contents of the stories bearing that name; for even bad actions and the consequences of gathering demerit make up the main plot of some stories, *e.g.* those of the 5th decad and No.94 of *Avadānaśataka*."

Kunga Takahata in his Introduction to the *Ratnamālāvadāna* elaborately deals with the different explanations of the word *avadāna*. He discusses there also the meaning of the word as found in the Chinese translations[1].

After putting forward the explanations of the Western scholars he remarks (p. xxii):

"These are the main theories put forward; though one cannot reach any rapid conclusion about the original meaning of *avadāna*, yet it seems beyond doubt that the central idea underlying *Avadāna* literature is, in North and South alike, the purification of mind.... Again, if one takes into account the technical expression of *vyavadāna* (purification) and *saṁkleśa* (defilement) which is so important in Buddhism, it seems both possible and appropriate to assume that the original meaning of *avadāna*, at least as a Buddhist term, lies in the root *dai*. Further, since as is shown by the above quotation from Winternitz[2], the words *avadāna* and *itivṛttaka* can be taken as having the same meaning, it is possible for the two to be confused."

In conclusion, he observes that the interpretation of *avadāna* as *karman* or *kathā* may be permissible as later derivations but it is difficult to accept this as the original sense of the word (p. xxv).

The *Avadānas* are similar to the *Jātakas* in many respects. Both of them contain stories which are composed or compiled from the ancient literature both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇic, to build up the moral conduct of the common people. They may be compared with the medieval Christian homilies.

Both the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* show the great and infalli-

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[1] After discussing the various interpretations of the word *avadāna* and *itivuttaka*, he remarks: "In those days there were two opinions about *avadāna*, one that it meant parable and one that it referred to the karmaic development of the holy disciples." In most of the *Avadānas* of the *Avadānaśataka* we find the following *śloka* : *na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi kalpakoṭiśatair api. sāmagrīṁ prāpya kālañ ca phalanti khalu dehinām.*

[2] and *Amarakośa.*

ble power of *karman* which decides the destinies of creatures in their countless existences.

The difference between the two may be roughly stated thus: A *Jātaka* must have the Bodhisattva as the hero (or one of the *dramatis personae*) while an *Avadāna* may have any illustrious person as its hero. He may not be a Bodhisattva.

The *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* or stories of this type are numerous. Not only are they found in Pali and Sanskrit but they are found also in Chinese and other languages. Most of them have lost their originals.

They were used for the uplift of the masses, and also for religious propaganda. The older *Avadānas* in Sanskrit were composed in prose interspersed with verse while the later ones are in simple verse (mostly in *anuṣṭubh* metre) like the Purāṇas. The older *Avadānas*, such as the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Aśokāvadāna* (the present text) and some of the *Avadānas* included in the *Divya*°, were composed between the 1st and the 3rd century A.D., while the later *Avadānas* such as the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, the *Ratnamālāvadāna*, the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, the *Dvātriṁśatyavadānamālā* were composed between 400 and 1000 A.D. The *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra and the *Bhadrakalpāvadānamālā* were composed as late as in the 11th century A.D[1].

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[1] Somendra, the son of Kṣemendra, says in his introduction to his father's work: *ācāryagopadattādyair avadānakramojjhitāḥ. uccityo'ccitya* [illegible] *śṛṅkhalāḥ. ekamārgānusāriṇyaḥ paraṁ gāmbhīryakarkaśāḥ.* [illegible] *jinajātakamālikāḥ.*

"There is a series of birth stories of the Victorious One (Jina) by Ācārya Gopadatta and others, who having collected (the tales) composed them in clumsy prose and verse. The usual order of the *Avadāna* was discarded in those compositions. They all followed the same way (style). They are very obtuse and hard to understand. Lengthy descriptions are abundant in them."

"The usual order of the *Avadāna* was discarded." What does he mean by this ? What was the usual order of the *Avadāna* ? Does he refer here to the Pali *Apadānas* all of which were composed in verse like that of Kṣemendra ? We do not find any old Sanskrit *Avadāna* composed only in verse.

We think the usual order of the *Avadāna* lay in the simplicity of its composition, because it was meant for the common people. The original *Avadānas* were simple in style. They were written in simple prose interspersed with a few poems. Lengthy descriptions and heavy compounds were not found in them.

By comparing the oldest Chinese translation of the *Aśokāvadāna*, I come to this conclusion. Lengthy descriptions, sentences with long compounds (*cf. Pāṁśu*° p. 1, para, 1 ; p, 28, the last two paragraphs) and a great number of *ślokas* of the *Aśokāvadāna* are not found in its oldest Chinese translation. That is, these were added later on. Such a practice was quite prevalent among scholars in India.

Most of the above later works *viz.*, *Kalpadruma*° etc. claim to preserve the discourses between Aśoka and his spiritual guide Upagupta.

STRIKING RESEMBLANCE IN COMPOSITION OF STORIES *OF SŪTRĀLAṄKĀRA* AND *AŚOKĀVADĀNA*

As we have already pointed out, three of the stories in our text are reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* of Aśvaghoṣa. The original of this work is lost. It is preserved in Chinese. Édouard Huber translated it into French in 1908.

Even in the translation of the translated version, we can see the striking resemblance between the composition of the two works. There is no doubt that these three stories were reproduced from the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, almost in their original forms. A little alteration here and there (somewhere a little enlarged and somewhere a little abridged) is all. For comparison, we quote a few verses:

ब्रह्माणं व्रज शरणं शतक्रतुं वा दीप्तं वा प्रविश हुताशमर्णवं वा ।
न क्लेदं न परिशोषणं न भेदं कण्ठस्थं कुणपमिदं तु यास्यतीह ।।

Indra and Brahmā[1]
      will not be able to rid you of this.
Whether you enter into the flaring fire,
      or into the ocean;
They will neither be consumed nor will rot.
These corpses that hang upon you
      will neither dry up nor decompose.

शीघ्रं तमेव शरणं व्रज यं समेत्य भ्रष्टस्त्वमृद्धिविभवाद् यशसः सुखाच्च ।
भ्रष्टो हि यः क्षितितले भवतीह जन्तुरुत्तिष्ठति क्षितिमसाववलम्ब्य भूयः ।।

Go quickly to him.
Implore his compassion and take refuge in him.
You have completely lost your supernatural power,
      your happiness, your glory.
Act like one who having slipped and fallen (on the earth)
Supports himself on the earth to rise again.

[1] In order to avoid further alteration, I give here a literal translation of the French.

बुद्धानुस्मृतिपेशलेन मनसा पूजां यदि त्वं मयि
स्वल्पामप्युपदर्शयिष्यसि विभो दग्धो भविष्याम्यहं ।
का शक्तिर्मम वीतरागविहितां सोढुं प्रणामक्रियां
हस्तन्यासमिवोद्वहन्ति न गजस्यैरण्डवृक्षाङ्कुराः ।।

If, reflecting respectfully on Buddha, you adore me
you will burn me.
I shall not have the strength to endure the token of
respect of one who has abandoned desire.
Just as a sprout of *eraṇḍa* pressed by the trunk of an
elephant cannot bear it, and perishes
So will be my fate, if I receive your respect.

वक्त्रेणाभिभवत्ययं हि कमलं नीलोत्पलं चक्षुषा
कान्त्या पुष्पवनं मनःप्रियतया चन्द्रं समाप्तद्युतिं ।
गाम्भीर्येण महोदधिं स्थिरतया मेरुं रविं तेजसा
गत्या सिंहमवेक्षितेन वृषभं वर्णेन चामीकरं ।।

By his countenance he surpasses the blooming lotus.
Like the petals of a blue lotus are his eyes.
By his figure he surpasses a forest of flowers.
By his loveliness he surpasses the moon.
By his profundity he resembles the ocean.
He is unshakable like the (mount) Sumeru.
By his majesty he surpasses the sun.
By his gait he surpasses the king of lions.
By his glance he is comparable to the king of bulls.
By his complexion he surpasses pure gold.
—*Māra and Upagupta*, pp. 264-71.

गोगर्दभोरभ्रमृगद्विजानां मूल्यैर्गृहीतानि शिरांसि पुम्भिः ।
शिरस्त्विदं मानुषमप्रशस्तं न गृह्यते मूल्यमृतेऽपि राजन् ।।

Heads of bulls, donkeys, horses, elephants (*dvipa* for *dvija*)
pigs, sheep and those of all animals one could sell.
All bargained for them and bought them.
All the collected heads found purchasers.
Only the human head was considered abhorrent.
There was none who could use it.
Even gratuitously no one liked to take it.

I was injured; there was dearth of purchasers.

दधिघृतनवनीतक्षीरतक्रोपयोगाद् वरमपहृतसारो मण्डकुम्भोवभग्नः ।
न भवति बहुशोच्यं यद्वदेवं शरीरं सुचरितहृतसारं नैति शोकोऽन्तकाले ॥

When from the milk, one has skimmed the cream;
And when from it (cream) one has taken the butter;
The vessel of milk has [not] in vain been broken.
One does not grieve much for it.
It is the same with our body.
When one has taken away from it that which is durable, true and good;
When the end of his life comes he will die without regret.

सुचरितविमुखानां गर्वितानां यदा तु प्रसभमिह हि मृत्युः कायकुम्भं भिनत्ति।
दहति हृदयमेषां शोकवह्निस्तदानीं दधिघट इव भग्ने सर्वशोऽप्राप्तसारे ॥

But, if a man has not practised Good, if he has been careless and idle;
When death hastens to him, to break the vessel of the body,
He will have a heart full of violent regrets, as if it had been burnt by fire.
The *kleśas* are similar to fire, the vessel of milk is similar to the body.—*King Aśoka and his minister Yaśas*, pp. 92-5.

दाक्षिण्यादनृतं हि किं कथयथ भ्रष्टाधिराज्या वयं
शेषं त्वामलकार्धमित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मम ।
ऐश्वर्यं धिगनार्यमुद्धतनदीतोयप्रवेशोपमं
मर्त्येन्द्रस्य ममापि यत् प्रतिभयं दारिद्रमभ्यागतं ॥

You call me a great king !
You say that my orders are obeyed !
It is to flatter me you speak thus !
That which you come to say is but a lie.
My authority is dead.
And no more can I dispose of anything.
There is nothing more than this half of an *āmala* [*ka*][1]
Which I may dispose of.

[1] Huber has wrongly translated it as *āmra* or mango. The Chinese transliteration is *an mo lê* which is found in other places as a trans. of *āmalaka*.

From (being) rich I have become poor.
Alas ! How much am I to be blamed !
Like a torrent from the summit of a mountain,
Which falls without pausing for an instant;
Poverty has come upon me
who in vain, is to be the sovereign over men;
Poverty which all the world dreads.

आज्ञाप्य व्यवधूतडिम्बडमरानेकातपत्रां महीं
उत्पाटच प्रतिगर्वितानरिगणानाश्वास्य दीनातुरान् ।
भ्रष्टास्थायतनो न भाति कृपणः संप्रत्यशोको नृपः
छिन्नम्लानविशीर्णपत्रकुसुमः शुष्यत्यशोको यथा ।।

When I had authority,
None dared oppose me.
None ever showed himself disloyal.
And rebellions were suppressed (cut off).
On the face of the great earth none could resist me.
Men or women, great or humble, none dared to disobey me.
And if anyone resisted my orders, I was in a position to bend him.
All who suffered I recomforted them and brought them to safety.
The sick and the poor, I saved them all.
But, now my merits are exhausted. All on a sudden poverty has afflicted me.
And I am in misery to this degree!
If I am the king Aśoka ('without grief')
Why am I fallen thus in grief ?
I am like an *aśoka* tree of which one has cut off the root (*mūla* for *mlāna*).
Its flowers, its foliages and branches all dry up:
That is what I resemble.

दानेनाहमनेन नेन्द्रभवनं न ब्रह्मलोके फलं
काङ्क्षामि द्रुतवारिवेगचपलां प्रागेव राजश्रियं ।
दानस्यास्य फलं तु भक्तिमहितं यन्मेऽस्ति तेनाप्नुयां
चित्तैश्वर्यमहार्यमार्यमहितं नायाति यद् विक्रियां ।।

By my good *karman* neither I wish to obtain

The rank of Indra nor the fruit of Brahmā.
Nor indeed the kingdom of Jambudvīpa.
By the fruit of alms-giving, by my devotion full of respect,
I desire only to attain domination over my mind.
Of which none will be able to deprive me.

—*King Aśoka reduced to poverty*, pp 139-42.

All the stories in the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* begin with a precept. The story of Māra and Upagupta begins with: "Buddha has foreseen the future. One should have faith and should not act in a hurry".

The story of the minister Yaśas begins with: "The body is not durable. Therefore the wise one should, discriminating well, pay homage to them who deserve respect. This is called 'exchanging an unstable state for a stable one'."

The last story begins with: "When you are attacked with a serious illness, no one carries out your orders. Do quickly what you have to do while you still have your power".

Of these three stories the story of 'king Aśoka reduced to poverty' is a little different in form, from that of the *Aśokāvadāna*. It begins with: "Thus I have heard said: Aśoka, the king of Law [*Dharmarāja*] fell seriously ill. As he had given all his riches to the monks, he compelled his officials to procure treasures for him. But his officials did not wish to give him anymore. He could not procure anything but the half of an *āmalaka*. He assembled his officials;" etc.

Before sending the half of an *āmalaka*, his last gift to the Saṅgha, "Aśoka shaved his hair, and dressed himself in a coarse garment. He appeared upset. He was emaciated. He trembled. His respiration became painful. He turned towards the place where Buddha attained Nirvāṇa, joined his hands with effort and evoked in his spirit the virtue of Buddha. As his tears flowed, he uttered these sentences: . . . . . 'I do not wish to obtain the rank of Indra';" etc.

After this speech, he sent the gift of the *āmalaka* to the monks. The passages here are similar to those which we find in the *Aśoka*°.

The end is: "Then the Sthavira said to the monks, 'Reduce it to powder and put it in the soup for the monks', and he added, 'This is the last gift of the great *dānapati*, the king Aśoka.

" 'Why have we received it ? (In order to show that) riches do not last. That is why Buddha Bhagavān has said: "Exchange perishable riches for durable ones. Exchange the perishable body for the durable body". May the *dānapatis* rejoice. Their perishable riches follow them to the other world. May one make charities always, without discontinuation.' "

The gift of the kingdom to the Saṅgha and the colophon in which a chronicle of the descendants of Aśoka is given is not found in the *Sūtra*°.

A reference to "the gift of dust (*pāṁśupradāna*)" by Aśoka in his previous existence is found thus in two stories of the *Sūtra*°:

"The king Aśoka too, with a pure intention, has given dust as alms." *Vide* ch. iv. p. 122.

"He who, with a heart full of respect and faith, places (even) dust in the alms-bowl of Buddha, will not remain without recompense." *Vide* ch. vi. p. 193.

ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CHAPTERS (OF THE *AVADĀNAS*) IN THE TEXT

In all the MSS. of the *Divyāvadānamālā*, the arrangement o. the *Avadānas* is as follows:

(*i*) *Pāṁśupradānāvadāna*
(*ii*) *Kunālāvadāna*
(*iii*) *Vītaśokāvadāna*
(*iv*) *Aśokāvadāna*

In Chinese translations, the *Vītaśoka*° is placed or rather inserted between the two parts of the *Kunāla*°, that is, between "*pratiṣṭhāpitam iti*" and "*yasminn eva divase rājñā'śokena catur aśītidharmarājikāsahasraṁ*" (just before the proper *Kunālāvadāna*). We have placed the *Vītaśoka*° before the *Kunāla*° for this and the following reasons:

The incident mentioned in the life of Vītaśoka happened before Kunāla was born. We find there that the ministers remark: "You will be the king after the death of king Aśoka (*rājño' śokasyā'tyayāt tvaṁ rājā bhaviṣyasi.*)". This shows that up to that time Aśoka had no children, for a brother of a king has a right to the kingdom only when the king has no children.

The contents of the *Pāṁśupradāna°* is found in three *Avadānas* of the oldest Chinese version. They are (i) The *Upaguptāvadāna* (ii) The *Śāṇavāsy ava°* and (iii) The *Pāṁśupradāna°*. It is clear from this that originally there were three separate *Avadānas* which later on were combined into one. The person who combined them into one, had to omit some portions while doing it.

The contents of the *Kunālāvadāna* are found also in three *Avadānas*, *viz.*: (i) The *Avadāna* of the recompense given by king Aśoka; (ii) The *Rājāśokāvadāna*; (iii) The *Kunāla°*.

We have kept the headings of these two chapters of our edition the same as found in the Sanskrit MSS.; but we have divided them into parts with (sub-)headings, according to the Chinese version.

The *Vītaśoka°* is called 'The *Avadāna* of the younger brother of king Aśoka' while the *Aśoka°* is called 'The *Ardhāmalakāvadāna*' in Chinese.

In the appendix we have given Aśoka's life based on epigraphic records and produced a few edicts of Aśoka and added notes on technical terms, rare or peculiar words and on sentences difficult to understand. We have added also references to some passages and a few parallel passages here and there.

I offer my sincere thanks to the authorities of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, who were very kind to provide me with microfilms of their MSS.

I express my deep obligations to the late Mr. J. Przyluski whose scholarly work on the *Aśokāvadāna* was used by me while comparing the Chinese translations of the text.

I express my gratitude to the Late Professors E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil whose edition of the *Divya°* was a constant companion to me, while I prepared the present edition of the text.

I know not how to express my love and respect for Dr. P. C. Bagchi, our late Director of Research studies, as well as Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, whose sudden death was a bolt from the blue to his numerous friends and admirers here in India and abroad. The sympathetic attitude, the valuable guidance and the facilities which the Research Scholars here received from him will be remembered for long.

Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati. SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA
Santiniketan, Vaiśākha 25, 1368 B.S.

अखिलजनशुभङ्करः शरण्यो
विमलविरजसर्वधर्मपालः।
अरणकरुणसत्त्वलोकरक्षो
वितरतु मधुरां मिथः स मैत्रीम् ।।

Who affords shelter and does good to all creatures,
Who protects all religions—stainless and pure,
Who is peaceful and compassionate
Who preserves all in the world of sentient beings,
May he bestow on us sweet mutual amity.

"All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regard to all men."—Aśoka's Edicts Nos: XV-XVI.

अशोकावदानं

पांशुप्रदानावदानं

योऽसौ स्वमांसतनुभिर्यंजनानि कृत्वा-
[1]तप्यच् चिरं करुणया जगतो हिताय।
तस्य श्रमस्य सफलीकरणाय सन्तः
[2]सार्वजितं शृणुत सांप्रतभाष्यमाणं॥

एवं मया श्रुतमेकस्मिन् समये भगवान् श्रावस्त्यां विहरति। इति सूत्रं वक्तव्यं। अत्र तावद् [3]भगवत्तथागतवदनाम्भोधरविवरप्रत्युद्गतवचनसरत्सलिलधारासम्पाताऽपनीतरागद्वेषमोहमदमानमायाशाठचपङ्कपटलानां शब्दन्यायादितर्कशास्त्रार्थावलोकनोत्पन्नप्रज्ञाप्रदीपप्रोत्सारितकुशास्त्रदर्शनान्धकाराणां संसारतृष्णाच्छेदिप्रवरसद्धर्मपयःपानशौण्डानां गुरूणां संनिधौ सर्वाविवादकश्रेष्ठं[4] शक्रब्रह्मेशानयमवरुणकुवेरवा[व]सवसोमादित्यादिभिरप्यप्रतिहतशासनं कन्दर्पदर्पापमर्दनशूरं महात्मानम् अतिमहर्द्धिकं स्थविरोपगुप्तमारभ्य काञ्चिदेव विबुधजनमनःप्रसादकरीं धर्म्यां कथां समनुस्मरिष्यामः। [5]तत्र तावद् गुरुभिरवहितश्रोत्रैर्भवितव्यं।

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[1]MA omits this *śloka*. Div. *tāvac ciraṁ*. [2]Div. *sammārjitaṁ*. [3]Div. *bhavantathā°*. [4]MA & Div. *°kaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ*. [5]MA *atra*.

एवमनुश्रूयते। यदा भगवान् परिनिर्वाणकालसमयेऽपलालनागं विनीय कुम्भकारीं चण्डालीं[1] गोपालीं[1] च तेषां मथुरामनुप्राप्तः। तत्र भगवान् आयुष्मन्तमानन्दमामन्त्रयते स्म[2]। अस्यामानन्द मथुरायां[3] मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य गुप्तो नाम गान्धिको[4] भविष्यति। तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यति उपगुप्तनामा[5]ऽलक्षणको बुद्धो यो[6] मम वर्षशत-परिनिर्वृतस्य [7]बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यति[7]। तस्यावववादेन बहवो भिक्षवः[8] सर्वक्लेशप्रहाणाद्[9] अर्हत्त्वं साक्षात्करिष्यन्ति। तेऽष्टादशहस्तामायामेन द्वादशहस्तां विस्तारेण[10] चतुरङ्गुलमात्राभिः शलाकाभिर्[11] गुहां पूरयिष्यन्ति[12]। एषोऽग्रो[13] मे आनन्द श्रावकाणां भविष्यति अववाद-कानां[14] यदुत उपगुप्तो भिक्षुः।

पश्यसि त्वमानन्द दूरत एव नीलनीलाम्बरराजिं[15]। एवं भदन्त। एष आनन्द उरुमुण्डो[16] नाम पर्वतः। अत्र वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथा-गतस्य शाणकवासी[17] नाम भिक्षुर्भविष्यति। सोऽत्र उरुमुण्डपर्वते विहारं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति। उपगुप्तं च प्रव्राजयिष्यति।

मथुरायामानन्द नटो भटश्च द्वौ भ्रातरौ[18] श्रेष्ठिनौ[18] भविष्यतः। तौ उरुमुण्डपर्वते विहारं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यतः। तस्य[19] नटभटिकेति

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[1]MA °*līṁ*. Div. AB *kumbhakārīṁ*, MA °*kāri*. [2]MA *āmantrayata*. Ch1 "In the kingdom of Mathurā, Buddha said to Ānanda..." It omits the above passage. Ch2 begins: *yadā bhagavān parinirvāṇakāla-samaye apalālanāgarājaṁ vinīya gopālaṁ caṇḍālīṁ nāgarājaṁ ca mathurārājyam anuprāptaḥ*. [3]Div. *madhu*°. [4]Ch1 *gṛhapatir*. [5]Ch1 adds: "who will teach the Law of *dhyāna*. He will be the best of all the disciples." [6]Ch1 adds: "who will make conversions like myself." [7]Div. °*ddhaṁ kāryaṁ bhavi*°. [8]Ch1 "innumerable living beings". [8–9]Ch1 omits. [10]Ch1 "36 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth". [11–12]Div. & MA *śaṇakābhiḥ* (MA indistinct) *pūjayiṣy*°. [13]Div. °*grā me*. [14]Ch1 *sarveṣāṁ*. [15]Ch1 "Buddha again said to Ānanda, 'Now do you see this green forest ?' " [16]Div. & MA *ruru*°. [17]Ch1 Śāṇavāsa. [18]Ch1 *kulaputrau*. [19]MA omits.

संज्ञा भविष्यति। एतदग्रं मे आनन्द भविष्यति शमथानुकूलानां शय्यासनानां यदिदं नटभटिकारण्यायतनं[१]।

अथायुष्मान् आनन्दो भगवन्तमिदमवोचत्। [२]आश्चर्यं भदन्त यद् ईदृशमायुष्मान्[३] उपगुप्तो बहुजनहितं करिष्यति। भगवान् आह। नानन्द एतर्हि, यथातीते[४]ऽप्यध्वनि तेन विनिपतितशरीरेणाप्यत्रैव बहुजनहितं[५] कृतं[६]।

[७]उरुमुण्डपर्वते त्रयः[८] पार्श्वाः[८]। एकत्र प्रदेशे पञ्च प्रत्येकबुद्धशतानि प्रतिवसन्ति। द्वितीये पञ्चर्षिशतानि। तृतीये पञ्चमर्कटशतानि। तत्र योऽसौ पञ्चानां मर्कटशतानां यूथपतिः स तं[८] यूथमपहाय[८] यत्र पार्श्वे पञ्च प्रत्येकबुद्धशतानि प्रतिवसन्ति तत्र गतः। तस्य तान्[८] प्रत्येकबुद्धान्[८] दृष्ट्वा[८] प्रसादो जातः। स तेषां प्रत्येकबुद्धानां शीर्णपर्णानि[९] मूल[८]-फलानि चोपनामयति, यदा च ते पर्यङ्केणोपविष्टा[१०] भवन्ति[१०] स [११]वृद्धान्ते प्रणामं कृत्वा यावन् नवान्तं गत्वा[१२] पर्यङ्केणोपविशति।

यावत् ते प्रत्येकबुद्धाः परिनिर्वृताः। स तेषां शीर्णपर्णानि[९] मूल[८]-फलानि चोपनामयति। ते न प्रतिगृह्णन्ति। स[१३] तेषां चीवरकर्णिकानि आकर्षयति। पादौ गृह्णाति। यावत् स मर्कटश्चिन्तयति। नियतमेते कालगता भविष्यन्ति। ततः स मर्कटः शोचित्वा परिदेवित्वा च[१४] द्वितीयं पार्श्वं गतो यत्र पञ्चर्षि[१५]शतानि प्रतिवसन्ति।

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[1]Ch1 "There in solitude and sanctity, one will be able to live and meditate. Cell and couch there will be all that is necessary." [2–3]Ch1 *bhagavan*. [4]MA erased from *thātīte* to *śarīre*. [5–6]Div. omits. MA omits *eva bahu°*. It is adopted from the Chinese. Ch1 reads this sentence thus: "Not only by the numerous conversions of the time referred to, but also in the past, during innumerable *kalpas* he has done much good." [7]Ch1 adds: "If you want to know it, listen with attention. I am going to tell you the story." [8]Ch1 omits. MA *°rśva*. [9]Ch1 *puṣpāṇi*. [10]Ch1 *dhyānamagnāś ca*. [11–12]Ch1 *tān anusaran antasthitaḥ kṛtāñjaliḥ*. [13–14]Ch1 "Thereupon, the monkey pulled them, pushed them, catching them by their clothes; but they did not move. The monkey understood that they had entered Nirvāṇa and he was aggrieved. *atha sa*." [15]Ch1 *brāhmaṇa°*.

ते च ऋषय: केचित् [1]कण्टकापाश्रया: केचिद्[2] भस्मापाश्रया:[2] केचिदूर्ध्वहस्ता:[3] केचित् पञ्चातपावस्थिता:। स तेषां तेषाम् ईर्यापथान् विकोपयितुमारब्ध:[4]। ये कण्टकापाश्रयास्तेषां[5] कण्टकान् उद्धरति। भस्मापाश्रयाणां भस्म विधुनोति। ऊर्ध्वहस्तानामधो हस्तं पातयति[6]। पञ्चातपावस्थितानामग्निम् अवकिरति। यदा[7] च तैरीर्यापथो विकोपितो भवति तदा स तेषामग्रत: पर्यङ्कं बध्नाति[8]।

यावत् तैर्ऋषिभिराचार्याय[9] निवेदितं। तेनापि चोक्तं[10]। पर्यङ्केण तावन् निषीदत[11]। यावत्तानि पञ्चर्षिशतानि पर्यङ्केणोपविष्टानि[12]। तेऽनाचार्यका अनुपदेशका:[13] सप्तत्रिंशद् बोधिपक्षान् धर्मानामुखीकृत्य प्रत्येकां बोधिं साक्षात्कृतवन्त:।

अथ तेषां प्रत्येकबुद्धानामेतदभवद्। यत् किञ्चिदस्माभि: श्रेयोऽवाप्तं[14] तत् सर्वमिमं मर्कटम् आगम्य[15]। तैर्यावत् स मर्कट: फलमूलै:[16] परिपालित:[16]। कालगतस्य च तच्छरीरं गन्धकाष्ठैर्ध्मापितं[17]।

तत्[18] किं मन्यसे[19] आनन्द योऽसौ पञ्चानां[20] मर्कटशतानां यूथपति:[21] स एष उपगुप्त:। [22]तदापि तेन विनिपतितशरीरेणाप्यत्रैवोरुमुण्डपर्वते बहुजनहितं कृतं। अनागतेऽप्यध्वनि वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य ममात्रैवोरुमुण्डपर्वते बहुजनहितं करिष्यति। तच्च यथैवं तथोपदर्शयिष्याम:[23]।

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[1]Div. *kaṇṭha°*. [2]MA omits. Chl adds: *kecid ūrdhvapadāḥ*. [3]Chl adds: *kecid adhomukhāḥ*. [4]Chl omits this sentence. [5]MA omits *teṣāṁ*. [6]MA *adhohastānāṁ pātayiṣyati*. Chl adds: *adhomukhānāṁ bandhanarajjuṁ chetti ūrdhvapadānāṁ pādaṁ pātayati*. [7–8]Chl "Being astonished at what they did, *sa teṣām agrataḥ paryaṅkenopaviśati*." [9–10]Chl *°bhiḥ pañcaśatair uktaṁ*. [11]MA & Div. *°tha*. [10–11]Chl reads: "Look! The monkey is astonished at what we do. Let us imitate what he does!" [12]Chl adds: "They reflected and held their thoughts strongly restrained." [13]Chl *svayam upadiṣṭāḥ*. [14]Chl या चास्माभि: प्रत्येका बोधिरवाप्ता साऽस्य मर्कटस्य प्रसादादवाप्ता। [15]Div. *°myāt*. [16]Chl *puṣpair arcitaḥ*. [17]Chl adds: "and offered him offerings." Div. *dhyāpitaḥ*. [18]MA omits. [18–19]Chl omits. [20–21]Ch *markaṭaḥ*. [22–23]Chl reads: "Formerly, when he was a monkey, he did good to the five hundred Ṛṣis and made them attain and attest the Way."

शाणकवास्युपाख्यानं

[1]यदा स्थविरेण शाणकवासिना उरुमुण्डे पर्वते विहारः प्रतिष्ठापितः, समन्वाहरति। किमसौ गान्धिक[2] उत्पन्नः। अथाद्यापि नोत्पद्यत इति। पश्यत्युत्पन्नः। स यावत् [3]समन्वाहरति। योऽसौ तस्य पुत्र उपगुप्तो नाम्नाऽलक्षणको बुद्धो निर्दिष्टो यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यतीति, किमसावुत्पन्नः। अद्यापि नोत्पद्यत इति। पश्यत्यद्यापि नोत्पद्यते[4]।

तेन यावदुपायेन गुप्तो गान्धिको[5] भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसादितः। [6]स यदाऽभिप्रसन्नस्तदा स्थविरः संबहुलैर्भिक्षुभिः सार्धमेकदिवसं तस्य गृहं प्रविष्टः। अपरस्मिन्नहनि, आत्मद्वितीयः। अन्यस्मिन्नहनि, एकाकी[7]। यावद् गुप्तो गान्धिकः स्थविरं शाणकवासिनमेकाकिनं दृष्ट्वा कथयति। न खल्वार्यस्य कश्चित् पश्चाच्छ्रमणः। स्थविर उवाच। [8]जराधर्माणां कुतोऽस्माकं पश्चाच्छ्रमणो भवति[8]। यदि केचि-

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[1]Chl reads before this: "Begging his food, he arrived at the threshold of the *gṛhapati* Naṭa and Bhaṭa. He said to the *gṛhapati*: 'Give me money, I wish to establish now an *araṇya* (hermitage) on the mount Urumuṇḍa.' The master of the house (*gṛhapati*) said: 'Why shall we give you money?' He replied: 'Buddha has made this prediction: "After my Nirvāṇa, in the kingdom of Mathurā, there shall be two brothers (sons) of the chief of a family, one of them named Naṭa and the other named Bhaṭa. On the mount Urumuṇḍa, they will establish an *araṇya*. The place where they will establish it, will be called *naṭabhaṭīya*." The *gṛhapati* said: 'Is it the prediction of Buddha?' He answered: 'This is the prediction of Buddha.' Then the *gṛahapati* gave money, and on that mountain a demeure for the Saṅgha was made, which was named the *naṭabhaṭīya* hermitage." [2]Chl Gupta. [3–4]Chl "He contemplated again asking himself if the son of Gupta was born. (He saw) that (Gupta) still had no child." [5]Chl "Little by little, he instructed, converted Gupta and. . . .". [6–7]Chl reads: "When the Venerable Śāṇavāsa was engaged in his (Gupta's) conversion, he was accompanied by numerous Bhikṣus who were led to his (Gupta's) house. Gradually, the number of those who accompanied him became less and less, so that one day he came there alone." [8]Chl "We have none to escort or to serve us."

च्छ्रद्धापुरोगेण प्रव्रजन्ति, तेऽस्माकं पश्चाच्छ्रमणा भवन्ति। गुप्तो गान्धिक उवाच। आर्याहं तावद् गृहवासे परिगृद्धो विषयाऽभिरतश्च[1]। न मया शक्यं प्रव्रजितुं[2]। अपि तु योऽस्माकं पुत्रो भवति तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं दास्यामः। स्थविर उवाच। वत्स एवमस्तु। अपि तु दृढप्रतिज्ञां स्मरेथास्त्वमिति।

यावद् गुप्तस्य गान्धिकस्य पुत्रो जातः। तस्याश्वगुप्त[3] इति नामधेयं कृतं।

स यदा महान् संवृत्तस्तदा[4] स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकमधिगम्योवाच। वत्स त्वया प्रतिज्ञातं योऽस्माकं पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं[5] दास्यामः। अयं च पुत्रो जातः[6]। अनुजानीहि प्रव्राजयिष्यामीति[7]। गान्धिक उवाच। आर्य अयमस्माकमेकपुत्रः। मर्षयान्यो योऽस्माकं द्वितीयः पुत्रो भविष्यति, तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं दास्यामः।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी[8] समन्वाहरति। किमयं स उप[9]-गुप्तः। [10]पश्यति नेति। तेन स्थविरेणाभिहित एवमस्त्विति[11]। तस्य यावद् द्वितीयः पुत्रो जातः। तस्य धनगुप्त[12] इति नाम कृतं। सोपि य[13]दा महान् संवृत्तस्तदा स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकमुवाच। वत्स त्वया प्रतिज्ञातं योऽस्माकं पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमार्यस्य पश्चाच्छ्रमणं दास्यामः। [14]अयं च ते पुत्रो जातः। अनुजानीहि प्रव्राजयिष्यामीति। गान्धिक उवाच। आर्य मर्षय[15] एकोऽस्माकं बहिर्धा द्रव्यं संचयिष्यति[16], द्वितीयोऽन्तर्गृहे परि[17]पालनं करिष्यतीति[18]। अपि तु योऽस्माकं तृतीयः पुत्रो भविष्यति स आर्यस्य दत्तः।

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[1]Ch1 "I am attached to things profane." [2]Ch1 adds: *tava paścāc-chramaṇo vā bhavituṁ.* [3]Ch2 Apagupta. [4]Ch1 "Little by little, he grew up." [5]Ch1 omits. [6]Div. omits this sentence. [7]Div. *pravraji°*. [8]Ch1 omits this sentence. [8–9]MA erased. [9–10]Ch1 omits these sentences. [11]Ch1 "The Venerable approved." [12]Ch1 Dhanigupta (?). Ch2 Dhana°. [10–13]MA erased. [14–17]MA erased. [15]Ch1 omits. [16]Div. *saṁśayi°*. [18]MA omits *iti*.

[1]यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी समन्वाहरति। किमयं स उपगुप्तः। पश्यति नेति[2]। ततः स्थविर उवाच। एवमस्त्विति। यावद् गुप्तस्य गान्धिकस्य तृतीयः पुत्रो जातः। [3]अभिरूपो दर्शनीयः[4] प्रासादिकोऽतिक्रान्तो मानुषवर्णमसंप्राप्तश्च दिव्यवर्णं। तस्य विस्तरेण[5] जातौ जातिमहं कृत्वा[6] उपगुप्त इति नाम कृतम्। सोऽपि यदा महान् संवृत्तो यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकमभिगम्योवाच[7]। वत्स त्वया प्रतिज्ञातं योऽस्माकं तृतीयः पुत्रो भविष्यति तं वयमार्यस्य दास्यामः [8]पश्चाच्छ्रमणार्थे[8]। अयं ते तृतीयः पुत्र उत्पन्नः। अनुजानीहि प्रव्राजयिष्यामीति। गुप्तो गान्धिक उवाच। [9]आर्य समयतः। यदाऽलाभोऽनुच्छेदो भविष्यतीति [10]तदाऽनुज्ञास्यामि[11]।

यदा तेन समयः कृतस्तदा मारेण सर्वावती मथुरा गन्धाविष्टा[12]। ते (मथुरावासिनः) सर्वे उपगुप्तसकाशाद् गन्धान् क्रीणन्ति। स प्रभूतान् ददाति[13]।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी उपगुप्तसकाशं गतः। [14]उपगुप्तश्च गन्धापणे स्थितः। स धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति। गन्धान् विक्रीणीते। स स्थविरेण शाणकवासिनाभिहितः। वत्स कीदृशास्ते चित्तचैतसिकाः प्रवर्तन्ते। क्लिष्टा वाऽक्लिष्टा वेति[15]। उपगुप्त उवाच। आर्य

[1–2]Ch1 omits. [3–4]Ch1 omits. [5–6]Ch1 omits. [7]Ch1 "Gradually he grew up. He was engaged in selling perfumes. He proved to be strictly honest. So his trade procured for him large profits. The Sthavira contemplated whether Gupta had given birth to a son. He saw that he had (already) given birth to a son. He went to the house of Gupta and said. . . ." [8]Ch1 omits. [10]Div. A *tathā*. [11]MA *tad ājñā°*. [9–11]Ch1 reads: "If that does not stop my profits, I shall give him to you. O Venerable One, that you may save him and make him forsake the world." [12]Div. *°ṣṭāḥ*. [13]MA & Div. *prabhūtāni dāsyati*. [11–13]Ch1 "At that moment, Māra, the king (of demons) invited all, to the kingdom of Mathurā and led them to the house of Gupta for purchasing (perfumes). Because of the invitation of Māra, there was a mul itude of purchasers and Gupta realized very high profits." [14–15]Ch1 "He was selling perfumes in the market. Seeing him, the Venerable said: 'My son, have you pure or impure thoughts, in your business ?'"

नैव जानामि कीदृशाः क्लिष्टाश्चित्तचैतसिकाः कीदृशा अक्लिष्टा इति। स्थविरशाणकवासी उवाच। [1]वत्स यदि केवलं चित्तं परिज्ञातुं[2] शक्यसि प्रतिपक्षं मोचयितुं। तेन तस्य[3] कृष्णिकपट्टिका दत्ता पाण्डुरिका च। यदि क्लिष्टं चित्तमुत्पद्यते कृष्णिकां पट्टिकां स्थापय। अथाऽक्लिष्टं चित्तमुत्पद्यते पाण्डुरां पट्टिकां स्थापय[4]। अशुभां[5] मनसि कुरु। बुद्धानुस्मृतिं च भावयस्वेति। तेनास्य व्यपदिष्टं[6]।

तस्य यावदारब्धा अक्लिष्टाश्चित्तचैतसिकाः[7] प्रवर्तितुं। [8]स द्वौ भागौ कृष्णिकानां स्थापयति। एकं पाण्डुरिकाणां। [9]यावदर्धं कृष्णिकानां स्थापयति। अर्धं पाण्डुरिकाणां। यावद् द्वौ भागौ पाण्डुरिकाणां स्थापयति। एकं कृष्णिकानां[10]।

यावदनुपूर्वेण[11] सर्वाण्येव शुक्लानि चित्तान्युत्पद्यन्ते। स पाण्डुरिकाणामेव पट्टिकां स्थापयति[12]। धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति[13]।

मथुरायां वासवदत्ता नाम गणिका। तस्या दासी उपगुप्तसकाशं गत्वा गन्धान्[14] क्रीणाति। सा[15] वासवदत्तया चोच्यते। दारिके मुष्यते स गान्धिकस्त्वया, बहून् गन्धान् आनयसीति[16]। दारिकोवाच[17]। आर्यदुहित उपगुप्तो [18]गान्धिकदारको [19]रूपसम्पन्नश्चातुर्यमाधुर्य[20]-

[1]Ch1 adds: "Feelings of lust, passion and anger for one another are called 'impure thoughts'. When (people's) intercourses are free from these, they are (called) 'pure thoughts'." [2]Div. adds *na* here which is not found either in MA or in Ch. [1–4]Ch1 puts this in the following way: "O my son! Being thus capable of knowing the origin of your thoughts, if (you see that) the source of your thoughts is bad, put on the left a black pebble. If your thought is good, put on the right, a white pebble." [3]MA & Div. *tasyā*. [5]Div. *śubhāṁ*. MA indistinct. It seems to be *aśu*°. [5–6]Ch1 "He taught [Upa-]Gupta the meditation on Buddha (*buddhānusmṛti*) and the contemplation on impurities (*aśubhabhāvanā*)." [7]Div. °*kāpra*°. Ch1 omits this sentence. [8]Ch1 adds: "On the first day". [9]Ch1 adds: "On the second day". [10]Ch1 omits this sentence. [11]Div. & MA °*pūrve*. [12]Ch1 adds: न कृष्णिकानां। अक्लिष्टा एव चित्तचैतसिकाः प्रवर्तन्ते। न क्लिष्टाः। MA omits *dharmeṇa*. [13]Ch1 adds: *nādharmeṇa*. [14]MA omits. [15]MA & Div. *so*. Ch1 adds: *kruddhayā*. [16]Ch1 reads: "You went to steal! Where did you procure such large quantities of these excellent perfumes?" [17]Ch1 adds: "Certainly, I have not stolen." [18]Ch1 *guptadārako*. [19–20]Ch1 "a good and honest man".

सम्पन्नश्च धर्मेण व्यवहारं करोति। श्रुत्वा च वासवदत्ताया उपगुप्तसकाशे सानुरागं चित्तमुत्पन्नं। तया यावद् दासी उपगुप्तसकाशं प्रेषिता। [१]त्वत्सकाशमागमिष्यामि। इच्छामि त्वया सार्धं रतिमनुभवितुं। यावद् दास्या उपगुप्तस्य निवेदितं[२]। उपगुप्त उवाच। अकालस्ते[३] भगिनि [४]मद्दर्शनायेति।

वासवदत्ता पञ्चभिः पुराणशतैः परिचार्यते[५]। तस्या बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना[६]। नियतं पञ्चपुराणशतानि नोत्सहते दातुं[७]। तया यावद् दासी उपगुप्तसकाशं प्रेषिता[८]। न ममार्यपुत्रसकाशात् कार्षापणेनापि[९] प्रयोजनं। [१०]केवलमार्यपुत्रेण सह रतिमनुभवेयं। दास्या तथा निवेदितं[११]। उपगुप्त उवाच। अकालस्ते भगिनि मद्दर्शनायेति[१२]।

यावदन्यतरः श्रेष्ठि-[१३]पुत्रो वासवदत्तायाः सकाशं प्रविष्टः। अन्यतरश्च सार्थवाह[१४] उत्तरापथात् [१५]पञ्चशतमश्वपण्यं गृहीत्वा[१६] मथुरामनुप्राप्तः। तेनाभिहितं। कतरा वेश्या सर्वप्रधाना, तेन श्रुतं वासवदत्तेति[१७]। स पञ्चपुराणशतानि गृहीत्वा बहून् च प्राभृतान् वासवदत्तायाः सकाशमभिगतः[१८]।

ततो वासवदत्त[१९]या लोभाकृष्टया[२०] तं श्रेष्ठिपुत्रं प्रघातयित्वाऽवस्करे[२१] प्रक्षिप्य सार्थवाहेन सह रतिरनुभूता[२२]। यावत् स श्रेष्ठि-

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[1–2]Chl "to tell Upagupta: 'My mistress has no need (of presents) but she likes to have an interview with you.'" [3–4]Chl *akālo'yam asmākaṁ darśa°*. [5]Chl "Till that time it was the rule that Vāsavadattā, the courtesan, received five hundred pieces of gold to pass a night with a man." [6–7]MA erased. Chl omits these two sentences. [8]Chl "sent again to tell". [9]Chl "even a farthing". It omits *ārya-putra°*. [10–11]Chl "Come alone for a few moments so that I may have an interview with you." [11]MA omits this sentence. [11–12]Chl omits. [13]Chl "son of a high family to pass a night". [13–14]MA erased. [15–16]Chl "with large baggages and precious things". [17]MA *°dattām*. Chl adds: "She receives five hundred pieces of gold to pass a single night with a man." [18]Chl "He took five hundred pieces of gold, put on beautiful clothing and a necklace and reached the house of . . ". [19–21]MA erased. [20]MA & Div. *°kṛṣṭena*. [22]MA & Div. *ratim°*. Chl reads: "Then that courtesan as she coveted those five hundred pieces

पुत्रो बन्धुभिरव[1]स्करा‌द् उद्धृत्य राज्ञो निवेदितः। ततो[2] राज्ञाऽभिहितं। गच्छन्तु भवन्तो वासवदत्तां[3] हस्तपादौ कर्णनासे च छित्त्वा श्मशाने[4] छोरयन्तु[4]।

यावत्तैर्वासवदत्ता[5] हस्तपादौ[6] कर्णनासे[7] च छित्त्वा श्मशाने छोरिता। यावद् उपगुप्तेन श्रुतं वासवदत्ता हस्तपादौ[8] कर्णनासे[9] च छित्त्वा श्मशाने [10]छोरिता। तस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। पूर्वं तया मम विषयनिमित्तं दर्शनमा[11]काङ्क्षितं। इदानीं तु तस्या हस्तपादौ कर्णनासे[12] च विकर्ततितौ। इदानीं तु तस्या दर्शनकाल इति। आह च[13]।

यदा प्रशस्ताम्बरसंवृताङ्गी अभूद् विचित्राभरणै[14]र्विभूषिता।
मोक्षार्थिनां जन्मपराङ्मुखाणां श्रेयस्तदाऽस्यास्तु न दर्शनं स्यात्॥
इदानीं तु कालोऽयं द्रष्टुं गतमानरागहर्षायाः।
निशिता[15]ऽसिविक्षतायाः स्वभावनियतस्य रूपस्य[16]॥

यावदेकेन [17]दारकेण उपस्थायकेन [18]छत्रमादाय प्रशान्तेनेर्यापथेन[19] श्मशानमनुप्राप्तः। तस्याश्च प्रेषिका पूर्वगुणानुरागात् [17]समीपेऽवस्थिता[17] काकादीन् निवारयति। तया च वासवदत्ताया निवेदितं।

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of gold of that merchant, killed the son of the high family and buried him in the house."

1–2MA erased. 2Div. °*tam. tato.* Chl "The friends of the *kulaputra* searched up to the house of the courtesan and digging the earth found (the dead body). So they reported to the king thus: 'The courtesan Vāsavadattā has put to death a *kulaputra*.'" 3Chl adds: "Vāsavadattā be arrested." 4Chl " . . . be thrown on the cremation ground." Div. *hastapādā karṇanāsaṁ.* MA °*nāsaṁ.* 5Div. °*datyāṁ.* 6Div. & MA °*pādā.* 7Div. °*nāsāñ.* MA *nāsaṁ.* 8MA & Div. °*pādā.* 9MA *nāsā.* Div. °*nāsāñ.* 10–11MA erased. 12Div. °*pādakarṇanāsañ,* MA °*pāda . . . saṁ.* 5–13Chl "Upagupta having heard those things, uttered these words: 'Formerly, in the glory of her beauty, this girl called me as she wished pleasure . . . Now when her ears and nose are chopped off and the hands and feet are cut off, when lust has left her, this is the good time (to go to her).'" 14–15MA erased. 16Chl reads: "In the beginning, when she was adorned with her dresses and ornaments, she breathed lust and passion. At that time, it was not proper to go to her. Now, when she is free from lust and passion, it is necessary to go there." 17Chl omits. 18–19Chl omits.

[1]आर्यदुहितर्यस्य त्वयाऽहं सकाशं पुनः पुनरनुप्रेषिता अयं स[2] उपगुप्तोऽभ्यागतः। [1]नियतमेष कामरागार्त आगतो भविष्यति। श्रुत्वा च[1] वासवदत्ता कथयति[1]।

प्रनष्टशोभां दुःखार्तां भूमौ रुधिरपिञ्जरां।
मां दृष्ट्वा कथमेतस्य कामरागो भविष्यति[2]॥

ततः प्रेषिकामुवाच। यौ हस्तपादौ कर्णनासे[3] च मच्छरीराद् विकर्तितौ तौ श्लेषयेति। [1]तया यावच् छ्लेषयित्वा[2] पट्टकेन प्रच्छादिता[4]। उपगुप्तश्चागत्य वासवदत्ताया अग्रतः स्थितः।

ततो वासवदत्ता उपगुप्तमग्रतः स्थितं दृष्ट्वा कथयति। आर्यपुत्र, यदा मच्छरीरं स्वस्थभूतं विषयरत्यनुकूलं[1] तदा मया आर्यपुत्रस्य पुनः पुनर्[2] दूती विसर्जिता। आर्यपुत्रेणाभिहितं[5]। अकालस्ते भगिनि मम दर्शनायेति। इदानीं [6]मम हस्तपादौ कर्णनासे[7] च विकर्तितौ। स्वरुधिरकर्दम एवावस्थिता। इदानीं किमागतोऽसि। आह च[8]।

इदं यदा पङ्कजगर्भकोमलं महार्हवस्त्राभरणैर्विभूषितं।
बभूव गात्रं मम दर्शनक्षमं तदा न दृष्टोऽसि मया[9]ल्पभाग्यया॥
एतर्हि किं द्रष्टुमिहागतोऽसि मे[10] यदा शरीरं मम दर्शनाक्षमं।
निवृत्तलीलारतिहर्षविस्मयं भयावहं शोणितपङ्कलेपनं[11]॥

उपगुप्त उवाच।

नाहं भगिनि कामार्तः[12] संनिधावागतस्तव।
कामानामशुभानां[13] तु स्वभावं द्रष्टुमागतः॥
प्रच्छादिता वस्त्रविभूषणाद्यैर्बाह्यैर्विचित्रैर्मदनानुकूलैः।
[14]निरीक्ष्यमाणापि हि यत्नवद्भिर्नाप्यत्र दृष्टा[15]ऽसि भवेद्यथा च[16]॥

[1–2]Chl omits. [3]MA °*nāsā*. Div. °*nāsāñ*. [4]Chl *pracchādaya*. [5]Div. °*bhihitaḥ*. [6]MA adds: *hi*. [7]MA & Div. °*nāsau*. [6–8]Chl reads: "To-day, when I am in misfortune, when my body is mutilated, why do you come to see me ?" [9]MA *mamā*°. [10]MA & Div. omit *me*. [8–11]Chl omits. [12]Chl "in view of the things of passion". [13]Chl omits *aśubhā*°. [14]Div. *nirikṣa*°. [15]MA *yatnavadbhir nā dṛṣṭ*°. [16]MA *tu*. Chl reads this and the following *śloka* as: "Those who are blinded by covetousness and desire, do not see your

इदं तु रूपं तव दृश्यमेतत् स्थितं स्वभावे रचनाद् वियुक्तं ।
तेऽपण्डितास्ते च विगर्हणीया ये प्राकृतेऽस्मिन् कुणपे रमन्ते ।।
त्वचावनद्धे रुधिरावसक्ते चर्मावृते मांसघनावलिप्ते ।
शिरासहस्रैश्च वृते समन्तात् को नाम रज्येत कुतः शरीरे[1] ।।

अपि च भगिनि[2] ।

बहिर्भद्राणि रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा बालोऽभिरज्यते ।
अभ्यन्तरविदुष्टानि ज्ञात्वा धीरो विरज्यते[3] ।।
अवकृष्टाऽवकृष्टस्य कुणपस्य ह्यमेध्यता ।
मेध्याः[4] कामोपसंहाराः कामिनः शुभसंज्ञिनः ।।

[5]इह हि ।

दौर्गन्ध्यं प्रतिवार्यते बहुविधैर्गन्धैरमेध्याकरैः
वैकृत्यं बहिराध्रियेत विविधैर्वस्त्रादिभिर्भूषणैः ।
स्वेदक्लेदमलादयोऽप्यशुचयस्तान् निर्हरत्यम्भसा
येनाऽमेध्यकरङ्कमेतदशुभं कामात्मभिः सेव्यते[6] ।।
संबुद्धस्य तु ते वचः सुवचसः शृण्वन्ति कुर्वन्त्यपि[7]
ते कामान् श्र[8]मशोकदुःखजननान् सद्भिः सदा गर्हितान्[9] ।
त्यक्त्वा काममनिमित्तमुक्तमनसः शान्ते वने निर्गताः
पारं यान्ति भवार्णवस्य महतः संश्रित्य मार्गप्लवं[10] ।।

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true nature. Formerly, with your beauty, you seduced the world. Now you have returned to your true and original nature."

[1]Chl "A thin epidermis covers you; the blood wets the filth of the flesh; thousand nerves twist round each other; thousand tubes penetrate into the fat." [2]Chl omits. [3]Chl reads: "If the outside is seen, it seems beautiful. In inside it (the body) is full of impure things." [4]Div. °*dhyā*. Chl omits this *śloka*. [5–6]Chl "On the outside, borrowed perfumes cover it with a mist. In the inside, it is full of impurities and fetid emanations, such as the sweat, tears, the fetid liquids by which it (the body) is made wet and wrapped." [7–8]MA erased. [8]Div. *kāmāt śraya*°. [9]Div. AB °*taṁ*, CD *tāṁ*. [10]Chl reads this *śloka* as: "So you can listen to the speeches of Buddha: Desire begets fear, sadness, anger. Ills originate by hundreds and thousands from lust and covetousness. Longings are censured by the Sage. If the impurities of desire are averted, Liberation is attained.

श्रुत्वा वासवदत्ता [1]संसारादुद्विग्ना बुद्धगुणानुस्मरणाच्[2] चावर्जित-हृदयोवाच ।

एवमेतत् तथा सर्वं यथा वदति [3]पण्डितः ।
मे त्वां साधु समासाद्य बुद्धस्य[4] वचनं श्रुतं[5] ।।

यावद् उपगुप्तेन वासवदत्ताया [6]अनुपूर्विकां कथां कृत्वा सत्यानि संप्रकाशितानि[7] । उपगुप्तश्च[8] वासवदत्तायाः शरीरस्वभावमवगम्य कामधातुवैराग्यं गतः । तेन आत्मीयया[9] धर्मदेशनया सह[10] सत्याभिसमयाद् अनागामिफलं[11] वासव[12]दत्तया च स्रोतापत्तिफलं प्राप्तं । ततो वासवदत्ता दृष्टसत्या उपगुप्तं संरागयन्ती उवाच ।

तवानुभावात् पिहितः सुघोरो ह्यपायमार्गो बहुदोषयुक्तः ।
अपावृता स्वर्ग[13]गतिः [14]सुपुण्या निर्वाणमार्गश्च मयोपलब्धः[15] ।।

He who follows the correct way with eight sections(=*aṣṭāṅgika mārga*) attains to Nirvāṇa."

1Chl *trilokād.* 2Chl *buddha-dharme.* 3–4MA erased. 5Chl "The true nature (of things) is such as you say and it complies with the Law proclaimed by the Sage; have pity on me and explain (the Law) to me." 6MA *ānu°*. 7Chl reads: "Then Upagupta explained to her, the Four Truths (which turn) the wheel of the Law; (*i*) the dogma of Suffering (*duḥkha*) which resemble the red hot iron, (*ii*) the dogma of Accumulation (of suffering=*samudāya*) which is like a poison tree, (*iii*) the dogma of Extinction (of suffering=*nirodha*) in suppressing the Obtuseness (*moha*) and the attachments, (*iv*) the Sacred Way (*mārga*) with Eight (sections) he explained to her in short. Besides (he showed to her) the ills resembling poison, ulcer, and abscess (which are): the ill of birth, the ill of old age, the ill of disease, the ill of death, the ill of separation from that one loves, the ill of union with that one dislikes, the ill of asking (for something) without getting (it), the ill of five abundant calamities, the ill of austerities, the ill of corruption. In summary, (he made her see) that whoever are born in the three worlds are all of them equally unhappy." 8Chl adds: "contemplated on the courtesan." 9–10Chl omits. 11MA adds: *prāptaṁ*. 12–13MA erased. 12–15Chl "Vāsavadattā, having heard the Law, saw the (four) Truth. Having obtained the sight of the Truth, she extolled Upagupta in these words: 'That's right indeed. You have closed to me the Three Evil Ways. You have opened to me the pleasing door which gives access to the Way to Nirvāṇa.'" 14Div. *sva°*.

अपि च। एषाऽहं तं [1]भगवन्तं तथागतम् अर्हन्तं सम्यक्[2]-संबुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि। धर्मं च भिक्षुसङ्घं चेत्याह।

[3]एष व्रजामि शरणं विबुद्धनवकमलविमलधवलनेत्रं।
तममरबुधजनसहितं जिनं विरागं सङ्घं चेति[4]।।

यावद् उपगुप्तो वासवदत्तां धर्म्यया कथया संदर्श्य प्रक्रान्तः। अचिरप्रक्रान्ते चोपगुप्ते वासवदत्ता कालगता[5] देवेषूपपन्ना। दैवतैश्च मथुरायामारोचितं[6]। वासवदत्तया उपगुप्तसकाशाद् धर्मदेशनां श्रुत्वा [7]आर्यसत्यानि दृष्टानि[8]। सा[9] कालगता[9] देवेषूपपन्नेति। श्रुत्वा च मथुरावास्तव्येन जनकायेन वासवदत्तायाः [10]शरीरे पूजा कृता[11]।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकम्[12] अभिगम्योवाच। अनुजानीहि उपगुप्तं[13] प्रव्राजयिष्यामीति। गुप्तो गान्धिक[12] उवाच। आर्य एष समयः। यदा न लाभो न छेदो भविष्यति तदाऽनुज्ञास्यामीति[14]।

यावत् स्थविरशाणकवासिना ऋद्ध्या तथाऽधिष्ठितं यथा[15] न लाभो न छेदः। ततो गुप्तो गान्धिको गणयति तुलयति मापयति। पश्यति न लाभो न छेदः[16]।

ततः स्थविरशाणकवासी गुप्तं गान्धिकम्[12] उवाच। अयं हि[17] भगवता बुद्धेन निर्दिष्टः, मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यतीति। अनुजानीहि प्रव्राजयिष्यामीति।

यावद् गुप्तेन गान्धिकेन[12] अभ्यनुज्ञातः। ततः स्थविरेण शाणक-

[1–2]Chl omits [3–4]MA erased. Chl omits. [5]Chl adds: *trayastriṁśad*. [6]Chl "A celestial spirit said to the people of Mathurā." [7–8]Chl *srotāpannā sañjātā*. [9]MA & Div. omit. It is adopted from Ch. [10–11]Chl reads: "took her body and paid her all kinds of homage." [12]Chl omits. [13]Chl adds: "that I may liberate him and ...". [14]MA omits *iti*. Chl reads: "If without any interruption, I continue to realise the profits, I shall allow him *pravrajyā* (to leave the world)." [15–16]Chl "that without interruption Gupta continued to realise the profits. Gupta everyday estimated his gains and saw (they were) constant; he did not like to allow separation (with Upagupta)." [17]MA omits.

वासिना उपगुप्तो नटभटिकारण्यायतनं नीतं। उपसंपादितश्च ज्ञप्ति-चतुर्थं च कर्म व्यवसितं। उपगुप्तेन च [४]सर्वक्लेशप्रहाणाद् अर्हत्त्वं साक्षात्कृतं।

ततः स्थविरेण[१] शाणकवासिनाऽभिहितं। वत्स उपगुप्त त्वं भगवता निर्दिष्टो वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य मम उपगुप्तो नाम भिक्षुर्भ-विष्यति, अलक्षणको बुद्धः। यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यतीति। एषोऽग्रो मे आनन्द श्रावकाणामववादकानां[२] यदुतो-पगुप्तो भिक्षुः। इदानीं वत्स शासनहितं[३] कुरुष्वेति। उपगुप्त उवाच। एवमस्त्विति।

ततः [४]स धर्मश्रवणेऽधीष्टः[५]। मथुरायां च शब्दो विसृतः[६]। उपगुप्तो नामा[७]ऽलक्षणको बुद्धोऽद्य[८] धर्मं देशयिष्यतीति। श्रुत्वा चानेकानि प्राणिशतसहस्राणि निर्गतानि[९]।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः समापद्याऽवलोकयति। कथं तथा-गतस्य परिषन् निषण्णा[१०]। पश्यति चार्धचन्द्रिकाऽकारेण पर्षद् अवस्थिता। यावद् अवलोकयति कथं तथागतेन धर्मदेशना कृता। पश्यति[११] पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाशना कृता। सोऽपि पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाशनां कर्तुमारब्धः[१२]।

मारेण च[१३] तस्यां पर्षदि मुक्ताहारवर्षमुत्सृष्टं[१४]। वैनेयानां मनांसि व्याकुलीकृतानि[१५]। एकेनापि सत्यदर्शनं न कृतं।

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[1]Chl omits. [2]Chl "who teaches to sit in *dhyāna*," for *avavādaka*. [3]Chl *buddhakāryaṁ*. [4]MA *sarva*. [5]MA *śravaṇe' dhī*. (Div. *adhīṣṭa*). [4–6]Chl "Upagupta wished to preach the Law extensively in the kingdom of Mathurā." [7–8]Chl omits. [9]Chl adds: "And they assembled like a host." [10]Div. °*ṇṇāḥ*. [12]MA °*bdhaḥ kartuṁ*. [11–12]Chl "(And he saw) that previously Buddha explained the *śāstra* of *dāna*, the *śāstra* of Defences and the *śāstra* of the birth among the *devas*. (He showed) that desire produces impurities and that *pravrajyā* is essential. And following the permanent rule of Buddhas, he showed the Four Holy Truths. Upagupta too, like Buddhas who had successively preached the Law, wished to show the Four Truths." [13]MA omits. [14]Chl "showered genuine pearls and other precious things." [15]Div. °*kṛtā*.

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तो व्यवलोकयति। केनाऽयं व्याक्षेपः कृतः। पश्यति मारेण।

यावद्[1] द्वितीये दिवसे बहुतरको जनकायो निर्गतः। उपगुप्तो धर्मं देशयति। मुक्ताहारं च वर्षोपवर्षितमिति[2]। यावद् द्वितीयेऽपि दिवसे स्थविरोपगुप्तेन[3] पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यसंप्रकाशनायामारब्धायां मारेण चास्य[4] पर्षदि सुवर्णवर्षमुत्सृष्टं[5]। वैनेयानां मनांसि संक्षोभितानि। एकेनापि सत्यदर्शनं न[6] कृतं।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तो[7] व्यवलोकयति, केनायं[8] व्याक्षेपः कृतः। पश्यति मारेण पापीयसेति।

यावत् तृतीये दिवसे बहु[9]तरको जनकायो निर्गतः[10]। उपगुप्तो धर्मं देशयति[11]। मुक्तावर्षं सुवर्णवर्षं च पततीति[12]। यावत् तृतीयेऽपि दिवसे [13]स्थविरोपगुप्तः पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यानि आरब्धः संप्रकाशयितुं[14]। मारेण च नातिदूरे [15]नाटकमारब्धं। [16]दिव्यानि च वाद्यानि संप्रवादितानि। दिव्याश्चाप्स[17]रसो नाटयितुं प्रवृत्ताः। यावद् वीतरागो जनकायो[18] दिव्यानि रूपाणि दृष्ट्वा दिव्यांश्च शब्दान् श्रुत्वा मारेणाकृष्टः।

अतो मारेणोपगुप्तस्य पर्षद् आकृष्टा[19]। प्रीतमनसा मारेण

[1–2]Chl "On the following day, without being invited, numerous people who came to know that while Upagupta preached the Law, there were showers of genuine pearls and precious things, wished to come to rake them. For this reason the crowd became great." [2]MA reads: *muktāhārā ca varṣā ca varṣopa*°. [3–5]Chl "When (Upagupta) preached the Law, gold and precious things were showered again." [4]Div. *cāsyāṁ*. [6]MA omits. [7]Chl adds: "having entered into ecstasy". [8]MA *yenāyaṁ*. [9–10]MA erased. [10–11]Chl "On the third day the people of the kingdom of Mathurā all came and assembled like a host to hear Upagupta preach the Law." [12]Chl "At first, genuine pearls were showered; the second time, gold and precious things." [13–14]Chl omits. [15]MA *nāṭyaṁ*. [16]Div. °*bdho divyāni*. [17–18]MA erased. [14–19]Chl reads: "Māra the king caused to appear the celestial girls (*apsaras*) who with their exquisitely skilful music seduced and agitated the minds of the people. Those who till then had not attained the Way were all

स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शिरसि माला बद्धा[1]। यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः [2]समन्वाहरितुमारब्धः[3]। कोऽयं। पश्यति मारः। तस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। अयं मारो [4]भगवच्छासने महान्तं व्याक्षेपं करोति[5]। किमर्थमयं भगवता न विनीतः। पश्यति ममायं विनेयः। तस्य च विनयात् सत्त्वानु[6]ग्रहादहं भगवता अलक्षणको बुद्धो निर्दिष्टः[7]।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः समन्वाहरति। किमस्य विनेयकाल उपस्थित आहोस्विन् नेति। पश्यति विनेयकाल उपस्थितः। ततः स्थविरोपगुप्तेन [8]त्रयः कुणपा गृहीताः। अहिकुणपं कुर्कुरकुणपं मनुष्यकुणपं च। ऋद्ध्या च पुष्पमालामभिनिर्माय मारसकाशमभिगतः। दृष्ट्वा च मारस्य प्रीतिरुत्पन्ना। [9]उपगुप्तोऽपि मयाऽकृष्ट इति[10]।

ततो मारेण स्वशरीरमुपनामितं। स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्वयमेव बध्नाति। ततः स्थविरेणोपगुप्तेन[11] अहिकुणपं मारस्य शिरसि बद्धं[12]। [13]कुर्कुरकुणपं ग्रीवायां कर्णावसक्तं मनुष्यकुणपं च। [14]ततः समालभ्योवाच[14]।

भिक्षुजनप्रतिकूला माला बद्धा[15] यथैव मे भवता[16]।
कामिजन[17]-प्रतिकूलं तव कुणपमिदं[18] मया बद्धं ॥

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seduced by that celestial music; so much so that none attained the Way."

[1]Chl *atīva prītamanasā māreṇa uktaṁ*: "I can reduce to nothing the prediction regarding Upagupta." [2]Chl adds: *vṛkṣamūle āsīnaḥ*. [3]Chl adds: "By whom was it done? Then Māra made a garland with the flowers of *mandāra* and put it around the neck of Upagupta. The Venerable contemplated." [4–5]Chl "Māra repeatedly disturbed and hindered my prediction (*i.e.* prediction of Buddha regarding me)." [4–6]MA erased. [7]Chl reads this sentence as: "and for this reason Buddha had not subdued him." [9–10]Chl "He said, 'Upagupta does not consider himself master before me.'" [8–11]MA omits. [10–12]Chl "Māra bent his head and received the flower-garland. Upagupta bound the three dead bodies (*kuṇapa*) around Māra's neck." [13–14]Chl reads: "Seeing the three corpses around his neck, Māra said: 'How is it possible that these corpses are bound around my neck?' The Venerable said..." [14]MA illegible. [15]MA omits. [16]MA *bhagavatā*. [17]Chl omits. [18]Chl "these corpses".

यत् ते बलं भवति तत् प्रतिदर्शयस्व
बुद्धात्मजेन हि सहाद्य[1] समागतोऽसि ।
उद्वृत्तमप्यनिलभिन्नतरङ्गवक्त्रं[2]
[3]व्यावर्तते मलयकुक्षिषु सागराम्भः ।।

[4]अथ मारस्तं कुणपमपनेतुमारब्धः। [5]परमपि च स्वयमनुप्रविश्य[6] पिपीलिक इव अद्रिराजमपनेतुं[7] [8]न शशाक[8]। सामर्षो[9] वैहायसमुत्पत्य उवाच ।

यदि मोक्तुं न शक्यामि कण्ठात्[10] श्वकुणपं[10] स्वयं ।
अन्ये देवा हि[11] मोक्ष्यन्ते मत्तोऽभ्यधिकतेजसः ।।

स्थविर उवाच ।

ब्रह्माणं व्रज[12] शरणं शतक्रतुं वा
दीप्तं वा प्रविश हुताशमर्णवं वा ।
न क्लेदं न च परिशोषणं न भेदं
कण्ठस्थं कुणपमिदं तु यास्यतीह[13] ।।

स महेन्द्ररुद्रोपेन्द्रद्रविणेश्वरयमवरुणकुबेरवसवादीनां[14] देवानामभिगम्य अकृतार्थ एव ब्रह्माणमभिगतः[15] ।

तेन चोक्तं[16] ।

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[1]MA *samā*°. [2]Chl omits this line. [3]Chl adds *yathā*. [4]Chl *tathā*. [5–6]Chl omits. [7]Div. °*nayituṁ*. [8]Chl *aicchat*. [9]Div. *asamartho . . . utpadya*. MA *sāmartho*. Ch reading is adopted here. [10]Chl omits. [11]MA & Div. *api*. Chl reads this line as: "My gods have enough strength to remove this." [12]Div. & MA omit. [13]Chl reads: "You turn towards Brahmā or towards Śakra *devānām indra*, or *deva* Vaiśramaṇa or Maheśvara or *deva* Varuṇa; even entering into a big fire, you will not be able to consume it, even entering the ocean, you will not be able to dissolve it. If these *devas* and the rest want to loose your bonds, they will not succeed." [14]MA & Div. *vāsavā*°. [15]Chl reads this as: "Thereupon, Māra, the king, without taking into consideration the words of the Venerable, appeared immediately before these gods to entreat them to loose his bonds; but these *devas* as well as the rest all told him, 'We cannot.' And so on. So that he arrived before Brahmā, joined his hands and said: 'Remove it in my favour.'" [16]MA & Div. °*ktaḥ*.

मर्षय वत्स[1]।

शिष्येण दशबलस्य स्वयमृद्धया कृतान्तमर्यादा।
कस्तां भेत्तुं शक्तो वेलां वरुणालयस्येव॥
अपि पद्मनालसूत्रैर्बद्ध्वा हिमवन्तमुद्धरेत् क्वचित्[2]।
न तु तव कण्ठासक्तं श्वकुणपमिदमुद्धरेयमहं॥

कामं ममापि महदस्ति बलं तथापि नाहं तथागतसुतस्य बलेन तुल्यः।
तेजस्विनां न खलु न ज्वलनेऽस्ति किन्तु नासौ द्युतिर्हुतवहे रविमण्डले या[3]॥

मारोऽब्रवीत्। किमिदानीमाज्ञापयसि[4]। कं शरणं व्रजामीति।

ब्रह्माऽब्रवीत्।

शीघ्रं तमेव शरणं व्रज यं समेत्य भ्रष्टस्त्वमृद्धिविभवाद् यशसः सुखाच्च।
भ्रष्टो हि यः क्षितितले भवतीह जन्तुरुत्तिष्ठति क्षितिमसाववलम्ब्य भूयः[5]॥

अथ मारस्तथागतशिष्यसामर्थ्यमुपलभ्य चिन्तयामास।

ब्रह्मणा पूज्यते यस्य शिष्याणामपि शासनं।
तस्य बुद्धस्य सामर्थ्यं प्रमातुं को नु शक्नुयात्॥
कर्तुकामोऽभविष्यत् कां शिष्टिं क्षमो न सुव्रतः[6]।
यां नाऽकरिष्यत्[7] क्षान्त्या तु तेनाहमनुरक्षितः॥

किं बहुना।

अद्यावैमि मुनेर्महाकरुणतां तस्यातिमैत्रात्मनः
सर्वोपद्रवविप्रमुक्तमनसश्चामीकराद्रिद्युतिः।

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[1]Div. & MA *vatsā*. [2]Div. *kaścit*. [1–2]Chl reads these *ślokas* as follows: "That which the disciple of Bhagavān *daśabala* has done, I myself whose power is very little can never undo. This is like the *velā* (Ch *lit*. *p'i-lan*); a violent wind cannot blow it away. Rather hang the Sumeru with a fibre of lotus than wish to untie this tie." [3]Chl omits this *śloka*. [3–4]Chl "Māra said to Brahmā, the king (of gods): 'if you cannot liberate me...'" [5]Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Quickly resort to Upagupta; then only you will be able to attain deliverance. If the earth made you fall, resort to the earth to raise you again. If you do not take him as your support, he will destroy all your pleasures which you taste in heaven. He will destroy all your great and noted delights." [6]Div. reads: A *samanumasuvra*°., D *samam anusuvrat*°. MA *sa mama su*°. [7]Div. *yannākārṣyankṣāntyānu* (C°*kārṣyat*, D... °*tu*).

मोहान्धेन हि तत्र तत्र स मया तैस्तैर्नयैः खेदितः
तेनाहं च तथापि नाम बलिना नैवाप्रियं श्रावितः[1] ।।

अथ कामधात्वधिपतिर्मारो नास्त्यन्या गतिर् अन्यत्र उपगुप्तकादेवेति ज्ञात्वा सर्वमुत्सृज्य[2] स्थविरोपगुप्तसमीपमुपेत्य [3]पादयोर्निपत्योवाच[3]। भदन्त किमविदितमेतद् भदन्तस्य यथा बोधिमूलमुपादाय[4] मया भगवतो विप्रियशतानि कृतानि। कुतः[5]।

[6]शालायां ब्राह्मणग्रामे मामासाद्य स गौतमः।
भक्तच्छेदमपि प्राप्य नाकार्षीन् मम विप्रियं[7] ।।
गौर्भूत्वा सर्पवत् स्थित्वा कृत्वा[8] शाकटिकाकृतिं।
स मयाऽयासितो नाथो न चाहं तेन हिंसितः ।।

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[1]Chl continues: "Māra, having seen that a disciple of Tathāgata is more powerful than Brahmā, the king of *devas*, expressed his respect in the following terms: 'Who could measure the power of Buddha ? If He wanted to vent His anger on me, what could He not do ? It was His pity that the Great Compassionate One did not vent His anger on me. It is only today that I know Tathāgata, the Great, Perfect, Compassionate One, the Great Fulfilled Benevolent One, who has attained the true deliverance. The ignorance blinded me. In all the places, I molested Him. Nevertheless, the Benevolent Buddha, the Compassionate and the Righteous One, never addressed me harsh words.'" [2]Chl reads: "Having received the advice of Brahmā, the king (Māra) was soon freed from evil and prideful thoughts." [3]Chl "touched the ground with five parts of his body. Having prostrated himself with the two knees, he joined the hands and said to the Venerable..." [4]Chl "from the time he was under the Bodhi tree till the time of his Nirvāṇa". [5]Chl adds: "The Venerable asked: 'What did you do ?' He replied..." [6]Chl omits *śālā*. Ch2 reads: "in the kingdom of *so lo*". [7]Chl reads: "Formerly, when Buddha was begging food in the village of Brāhmaṇas, I blinded the spirit of the multitude and he got nothing to eat; and so he recited this *gāthā*: 'Those who rejoice without resources have the body peaceable, light and alert. If with regard to food and drink,one is capable of conceiving no covetous thought then the spirit does not cease to be joyful, like the *ābhāsvara devas* (gods).'" Ch2 omits this *gāthā*. [8]MA omits it. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Moreover in the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, I took the form of a big bull which destroyed the *pātras* (bowls) of five hundred Bhikṣus; only the *pātra* of Buddha had flown to

त्वया पुनरहं वीर त्यक्त्वा हि[1] सहजां दयां ।
सदेवासुरमध्येषु लोकेष्वद्य विडम्बितः ॥

स्थविरोऽब्रवीत् । पापीयान् कथमपरीक्ष्यैव तथागतमाहात्म्येषु श्रावकमुपसंहरसि ।

किं सर्षपेण समतां नयसीह मेरुं
खद्योतकेन [2]रविमञ्जलिना[3] समुद्रं ।
अन्या हि सा दशबलस्य कृपा प्रजासु
न श्रावकस्य हि महाकरुणास्ति सौम्य[4] ॥

अपि च ।

यदर्थं हि[5] भगवता सापराधोऽपि मर्षितः ।
इदं तत् कारणं साक्षाद् अस्माभिरुपलक्षितं ॥

मार उवाच ।

ब्रूहि ब्रूहि श्रीमतस्तस्य भावं
सङ्गं छेत्तुं क्षान्तिगुप्तव्रतस्य ।
यौऽसौ [6]मोहान्नित्यमायासितो मे
तेनाहं च प्रेक्षितो[7] मैत्रचित्तैः[8] ॥

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the sky. Besides, at another time, I took the form of a dragon (*nāga, sarpa*) and for seven days and nights, I enclosed in my coils the body of Buddha. When Buddha lay down (before) Nirvāṇa, I made appear five hundred carts which troubled and polluted the water of the river in such a way, that Buddha could not drink it. In brief, I went so far as to molest him in hundred ways. The Tathāgata extended his benevolence and compassion so far as not to show even (a sign of) contempt or hurt me even with a harsh word."

[1]MA & Div. omit. Chl reads this line as: "You an Arhat have neither pity nor patience as...". [2]MA & Div. *raviṁ maṇḍa°*. Chl "lustre of the sun and moon". [3]Chl "with a drop of water". [4]Chl reads this line as: "The Śrāvakas have not got a share of the great mercy of Tathāgata. Buddha is the great Merciful One, and that is why he did not punish you. The Śrāvakas are inferior to Buddha; that is why I punish you." [5]MA & Div. omit *hi*. Chl omits this *śloka*. [6–7]MA erased. [8]Div. *maitreyeṇa*. Chl reads: "In return of vexation that I caused him when he was the Ṛsi *kṣānti-vādin* up to the time when he became Buddha, why is it that he always showed me mercy without causing me any injuries ?"

स्थविर उवाच[1]। शृणु सौम्य त्वं हि[2] भगवत्यसकृदसकृदवस्खलितः। न च बुद्धावरोपितानामकुशलानां धर्माणामन्यत् प्रक्षालनमन्यत्र तथागतप्रसादादेव।

तदेतत् कारणं तेन पश्यता दीर्घदर्शिना।
त्वं नाऽप्रियमिह प्रोक्तः[3] प्रियाण्येव तु लम्भितः[4]॥
[5]न्यायेनानेन भक्तिस्तव हृदि जनिता तेनाग्रमतिना
स्वल्पापि ह्यत्र भक्तिर्भवति मतिमतां निर्वाणफलदा।
संक्षेपाद् यत् कृतं ते वृजिनमि[6]ह मुनेर्मोहान्धमनसा
सर्वं प्रक्षालितं तत् तवहृदय[7]गतैः श्रद्धाम्बुविसरैः॥

अथ मारः कदम्बपुष्पवद्[8] आहृष्टरोमकूपः सर्वाङ्गेण प्रणिप[9]त्योवाच।

स्थाने मया बहुविधं परिखेदितोऽसौ
प्राक् सिद्धितश्च भुवि सिद्धिमनोरथेन।
सर्वं च मर्षितमृषिप्रवरेण तेन
पुत्रापराध इव सानुनयेन[10] पित्रा॥

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[1]Div. & MA omit it. [2]MA omits it. [3–4]MA erased. [1–4]Chl reads: "On account of your wickedness, you have grown evil intentions towards Buddha. Though the crimes were heaped up, Buddha did not cause you any harm. Why ? Because He wished to allow me to subdue you, so that you may obtain the feelings of faith and respect towards Buddha; and on account of these feelings, you may not fall into the hell, or among famished animals, or (be born ?) among domestic animals. These are the reasons for which, at the outset, he did not address you wounding words and for that he had unceasingly nourished for you the feelings of compassion." [5–6]MA erased. [6]Div. AD *vṛjimam* and B *vṛjamam*. [7]Div. °*daye*°. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "In brief, if you experience a little faith in Buddha, then by this sentiment of faith, you shall be purified from innumerable crimes of molesting Buddha of which from the ancient time to the present (you are guilty). All these crimes shall be extinct." [8]Ch2 reads according to the text. [9]Chl reads: "When Māra heard these words, he was agitated both in body and spirit. Resembling a flowered *kadamba* tree, which (thrills) from the roots and trunk to the branches, Māra, the king (of demons) rejoiced and on his whole body, he had the hair erect; he said . . . ." [9–10]MA erased. [10]Chl translates these two *ślokas* in accordance with the text, though

स बुद्धप्रसादाप्यायितमनाः सुचिरं बुद्धगुणाननुस्मृत्य स्थविरस्य पादयोर्निपत्योवाच[१] ।

अनुग्रहो मेऽद्य[२] परः कृतस्त्वया निवेशितं यन् मयि बुद्धगौरवं ।
इदं तु कण्ठव्यवलम्बि मैत्र्या महर्षिकोपाभरणं विसर्जय ॥

स्थविर उवाच । समयतो विमो[३]क्ष्यामीति । मार[४] उवाच । कः स[५]मय इति[६] । स्थविर उवाच[७] । अद्यप्रभृति[८] भिक्षवो न विहेठयितव्या इति । मारोऽब्रवीत् । न विहेठयिष्ये । [९]किमपरमाज्ञापयसीति । स्थविर उवाच । एवं तावच्छासनकार्यं प्रति ममाज्ञा[१०] । स्वकार्यं प्रति विज्ञापयिष्यामि भवन्तं । [११]मारः ससम्भ्रम उवाच । प्रसीद स्थविर किमाज्ञापयसीति । स्थविरोऽब्रवीत् । [१२]स्वयमवगच्छसि यदहं वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृते भगवति प्रव्रजितः । तद्[१३]

धर्मकायो मया तस्य दृष्टस्त्रैलोक्यनाथस्य ।
काञ्चनाद्रिनिभस्तस्य न दृष्टो रूपकायो मे[१४] ॥
तदनुपममनुग्रहं प्रति[१५] त्वमिह विदर्शय बुद्धविग्रहं ।
प्रियमधिकमतो हि नास्ति मे दशबलरूपकुतूहलो ह्यहं ॥

मार उवाच । तेन हि ममापि समयः श्रूयतां ।

सहसा त्वमिहोद्वीक्ष्य बुद्धनेपथ्यधारिणं ।
न प्रणामस्त्वया कार्यः [१६]सर्वज्ञगुणगौरवात् ॥

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not literally.

[1]Chl "Māra, the king, experienced a feeling of joy regarding Buddha and the Dharma. He got up, joined his hands and said to the Venerable . . . " [2]MA omits *dya*. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "You have been able to make me experience a feeling of joy (regarding Buddha and the Dharma). This is a great kindness of yours. Now you ought to rid me of these three corpses." [3–5]MA erased. [4–6]Chl omits. [7]Chl omits this sentence. [8]Chl "from today till the extinction of the Law". [9]Div. *kam*°. Chl omits this sentence. [10]Chl omits this sentence. [11]Div. adds *tato*. [12]Div. *svayam eva ava*°. [11–13]Chl omits. [14]Chl "I have not seen the marvellously beautiful body of Tathāgata." [15]Div. & MA *tad anadyam anugrahaṁ prati*°. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Let the beautiful body of Buddha appear before me, in a way that I experience a feeling of love and respect. If you can make it, for this, your fame will be extremely great." [16]Chl omits.

[1]बुद्धानुस्मृतिपेशलेन मनसा पूजां यदि त्वं मयि
स्वल्पामप्युपदर्शयिष्यसि विभो दग्धो भविष्याम्यहं[1] ।
का शक्तिर्मम वीतरागविहितां सोढुं प्रणामक्रियां
हस्तन्यासमिवोद्वहन्ति न गजस्यैरण्डवृक्षाङ्कुराः[2] ।।

स्थविरोप्याह। एवमस्तु। न भवन्तं प्रणमिष्यामीति। मारोऽब्रवीत्। तेन हि मुहूर्तमागमस्व यावदहं वनगहनमनुप्रविश्य

शूरं वञ्चयितुं पुरा व्यवसितेनोत्त[3]प्तहेमप्रभं[4]
बौद्धं रूपमचिन्त्यबुद्धविभवादासीन्मया यत्कृतं।
कृत्वा रूपमहं तदेव नयनप्रह्लादिकं देहिनां
[5]एष्याम्यर्कमयूखजालममलं भामण्डलेनाक्षिपन्[6] ।।

अथ स्थविर एवमस्तु इत्युक्त्वा तं कुणपमपनीय तथागतरूपदर्शनोत्सुकोऽवस्थितः। मारश्च वनगहनमनुप्रविश्य बुद्धरूपं कृत्वा नट इव सरुचिरनेपथ्यस्तस्माद्वनगहनादारब्धो निष्क्रमितुं। वक्ष्यते हि।

ताथागतं वपुरथोत्तमलक्षणाढ्यमादर्शयन्नयनशान्तिकरं नराणां।
प्रत्यग्ररङ्गमिव चित्रपटं महार्हमुद्घाटयन् वनमसौ तदलंचकार[7] ।।

[8]अथ व्यामप्रभामण्डलमण्डितमसेचनकदर्शनं[9] भगवतो रूपमभिनिर्माय दक्षिणे पार्श्वे स्थविरशारद्वतीपुत्रं वामपार्श्वे स्थविरमहामौद्गल्यायनं पृष्ठतश्चायुष्मन्तमानन्दं बुद्धपात्रव्यग्रहस्तं स्थविर-

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[1]Chl omits. [2]Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Why ? Because I would resemble the *eraṇḍa* (plant) which trampled by big elephants while sprouting is destroyed." Ch2 reads: "Like the sprouts of *eraṇḍa*, though the hand may not be allowed to touch them, are (however) carried away by the tusks of the elephants." [3–4]MA erased. [4–6]Chl reads: "In former times, I have already mystified the householder (*gṛhapati*) Śūra by assuming the appearance of Buddha. That which I have done at that time, I am going to do for you." [5]Div. AB *eṣāpya*°.; CD *eṣām apya*°. [6–7]Chl "Then the Venerable Upagupta took away the three corpses from him. The Venerable conceived the idea of Buddha. Māra entered the forest and took on by metamorphosis the form of Buddha. He produced the body of Buddha with His (32 auspicious) marks, as one paints Him with various colours, on the fine stuff of new cotton." [7]MA *cakāra* is erased. [8–9]Chl "One would not have got tired of looking at Him." MA erased.

महाकाश्यपानिरुद्धसुभूतिप्रभृतीनां च महाश्रावकाणां रूपाण्यभिनिर्माय अर्ध[1]त्रयोदशभिर्भिक्षुशतैरर्धचन्द्रेणा[2]नुपरिवृतं बुद्धवेशमादर्शयित्वा मारः स्थविरोपगुप्तस्यान्तिकमाजगाम। स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य च भगवतो रूपमिदमीदृशमिति प्रामोद्यमुत्पन्नं[3]।

स प्रमुदितमनास्त्वरितमासनादुत्थाय निरीक्षमाण उवाच[4]।

धिगस्तु [5]तां निष्करुणा[6]मनित्यतां
भिनत्ति रूपाणि यदीदृशान्यपि।
शरीरमीदृक् किल तन्महामुनेर्
अनित्यतां प्राप्य विनाशमागतं।।

स बुद्धावलम्बितया[7] स्मृत्या [8]तथाप्यासक्तमनाः संवृत्तो यथा बुद्धं भगवन्तमहं पश्यामीति व्यक्तमुपागतः। स पद्ममुकुलप्रतिममञ्जलिं कृत्वोवाच। [9]अहो रूपशोभा[10] भगवतः। [11]किं बहुना[12]।

वक्त्रेणाभिभवत्ययं हि कमलं नीलोत्पलं[13] चक्षुषा
कान्त्या पुष्पवनं मनः[14]प्रियतया चन्द्रं समाप्तद्युतिं।
गाम्भीर्येण महो[15]दधिं स्थिरतया[16] मेरुं[16] रविं तेजसा
गत्या[17] सिंहमवेक्षितेन वृषभं वर्णेन चामीकरं।।

स भूयसा मात्रया हर्षेणापूर्यमाण[18]हृदयो व्यापिना स्वरेणोवाच[19]।

अहो भावविशुद्धानां कर्मणां मधुरं फलं[20]।
कर्मणेदं कृतं रूपं नैश्वर्येण यदृच्छया[21]।।

[1–2]Chl "Surrounded and escorted by 1250 great Arhats." MA erased. [3]Chl omits this sentence. [4]Chl reads: "At that moment the Venerable got up, joined his hands, entered into contemplation and pronounced this *gāthā*:" [5–6]MA erased. [7]Div. °*mbanatayā*. [9–10]MA erased. [11–12]MA erased. [8–12]Chl "Extremely moved in body and spirit, he joined his hands and recited these *gāthās*." It reads "*aho bhāva*°" before "*vaktreṇābhi*°". [13]Chl "brilliant jewel". [14]Div. *ghanaṁ*. MA omits. Chl reads this line as: "He is more perfect than the sun and the moon. He is more amiable than the flowered forest." [15–17]MA erased. [16]Chl "He lives in peace like the Sumeru." [18]Div. ABD °*hṛdayā*. [18–19]Chl omits this sentence. [18–20]MA erased. [20–21]Chl "This is not the supreme God (*īśvara*) who has made it. Neither without cause has it been made (*neśvareṇa na yadṛcchayā*)."

यत्तत् कल्पसहस्र[1]-कोटिनियुतैर्वाक्कायचित्तोद्भवं
दानक्षान्तिसमाधिबुद्धिनियमैस्तेनार्हता शोधितं[2] ।
तेनेदं [3]जननेत्रकान्तममलं[3] रूपं समुत्थापितं
यं दृष्ट्वा रिपुरप्यभिप्रमुदितः [4]स्यात् किं पुनर्मद्विधः[5] ।।

संबुद्धालम्बनैः संज्ञां[6] विस्मृत्य [7]बुद्धसंज्ञामधिष्ठाय मूलनिकृत्त इव द्रुमः[8] सर्वशरीरेण[9] मारस्य पादयोर्निपतितः[10] । अथ मारः ससम्भ्रमो[11]ऽब्रवीत् । एवं त्वं भदन्त नार्हसि समयं व्यतिक्रमितुं । स्थविर उवाच । कः समय इति । मार उवाच । ननु प्रतिज्ञातं भदन्तेन नाहं भवन्तं प्रणमिष्यामीति[12] ।

ततः स्थविर [13]उपगुप्तः पृथिवीतलादुत्थाय सगद्गदकण्ठो[14]-ऽब्रवीत् । पापीयान्[15] ।

न खलु न विदितं मे यत् स वादिप्रधानो[16]
जलवि[17]हृत इवाग्नि[18]निर्वृतिं संप्रयातः ।
अपि तु नयनकान्तिमाकृतिं तस्य दृष्ट्वा[19]
तमृषिमभिनतोऽहं त्वां तु नाभ्यर्चयामि ।।

मार उवाच । कथमिहाहं[20] नार्चितो[21] भवामि यदेवं मा प्रणमसीति[22] ।

स्थविरोऽब्रवीत् । श्रूयतां यथा[23] त्वं नैव मयाऽभ्यर्चितो भवसि न च मया समयातिक्रमः कृत इति ।

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[1]MA omits it. [1–2]Chl reads: "During hundreds and thousands of incommensurable *kalpas* he has purified and perfected his actions, his speech and his thoughts." [2]Div. B *śoṣi°*. [3]Chl "marvellous and sublime". [4–5]MA erased. *yad dṛṣṭvā ripura°?* [6]Chl *pūrvāṁ pratijñāṁ vi°*. [7–8]Chl omits. [8]Div. *mūlanikṛnta°*. [9]Chl "with five parts of his body". [9–10]Chl "He prostrated and adored." [11]Chl omits it. [12]Chl adds: "Now why do you prostrate yourself touching the ground, with five parts of your body ?" [13–14,15] Chl omits. [16]Chl *anuttaro bhagavān*. Div. *yasya vādi°*. [16–18]Chl omits. [17–18]MA erased. [19]Chl "(but) to see this figure is just to see Buddha." [20–21]MA erased. [20–22]Chl "My eyes have seen you prostrate yourself before me. Why do you deny it ?" [23]Chl omits it.

मृन्मयीषु[1] प्रतिकृतिष्वमराणां [2]यथा जनः।
[3]मृत्संज्ञा[न्ता]मनादृत्य नमत्यमरसंज्ञया[4]।।
तथाऽहं त्वामिहोद्वीक्ष्य लोकनाथवपुर्धरं[5]।
मारसंज्ञामनादृत्य नतः[6] सुगतसंज्ञया।।

अथ मारो बुद्धवेशमन्तर्धापयित्वा स्थविरोपगुप्तमभ्यर्च्य प्रक्रान्तः[7]। यावच् चतुर्थे दिवसे मारः स्वयमेव मथुरायां घण्टावघोषि[8]तुमारब्धः। यो युष्माकं[10] स्वर्गापवर्गसुखं प्रार्थयते स स्थविरोपगुप्तसकाशाद् धर्मं शृणोतु[11]। यैश्च युष्माभिस्तथागतो न दृष्टस्ते[12] स्थविरोपगुप्तं पश्यन्त्विति[13]। आह च[14]।

[15]उत्सृज्य दारिद्रमनर्थमूलं यः स्फीतशोभां श्रियमिच्छतीह।
स्वर्गा[16]पवर्गाय च यस्य वाञ्छा स श्रद्धया धर्ममतः शृणोतु।।
दृष्टो न यैर्वा द्विपदप्रधानः शास्ता महाकारुणिकः स्वयम्भूः।
ते शास्तृकल्पं स्थविरोपगुप्तं पश्यन्तु भास्वत् त्रिभवप्रदीपं[17]।।

यावन् मथुरायां शब्दो[18] विसृतः स्थविरोपगुप्तेन मारो विनीत इति। श्रुत्वा च यद्भूयसा[19] मथुरावास्तव्यो जनकायः स्थविरोपगुप्तसकाशं निर्गतः। ततः स्थविरोपगुप्तोऽनेकेषु ब्राह्मणशतसहस्रेषु संनिपतितेषु सिंह इव निर्भीः[20] सिंहासनमभिरूढो वक्ष्यति[21] च।

मां प्रति न तेन[22] शक्यं सिंहासनमविदुषा समभिरोढुं।
यस् [तु] सिंहासनस्थो मृग इव स हि याति सङ्कोचं[23]।।

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[1]MA erased. Chl *mṛtkāṣṭha*°. MA °*mayiṣu*. [2]Chl adds: *buddhasya ca*. [3]Chl *mṛtkāṣṭha*°. [4]Chl °*marabuddhabhaktyā*. [4–5]Chl "So I have not been able to restrain the joy of my heart on seeing Buddha and that is why I got up and ...". [6]Div. ABD *ratah*. [7]Chl "returned to heaven." [8–9]MA erased. Chl "Remembering the favours with which the Venerable himself had loaded him, descended from heaven (and made this proclamation)." [10]Chl adds: *dāridram utsraṣṭum icchati*. [11]Chl °*guptaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchatu*. [12–13]Chl °*tathāgatān mahākāruṇikād dharmo na śrutas te'pi upaguptaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchantu*. [13–14]Chl omits. [16]MA reads upto *svargā* and then it ends abruptly. Pages are missing. [15–17]Chl omits these *ślokas*. [18]Ch "news". [19–20]Chl "A multitude of elders and that of plebeians came in thousands and in myriads to the Venerable. Seeing the crowd, the Venerable assembled them and then ...". [20]Div. omits *ḥ*. [21]Chl omits the *ślokas*. [22]Div. *te*. [23]Div. °*vaṁ*.

सिंह इव यस्तु निर्भीर्निनदति[1] परवादिदर्पनाशार्थं ।
सिंहासनमभिरोढुं स कथिकसिंहो भवति योग्यः[2] ।।

[3]यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तेन पूर्वकालकरणीयां कथां कृत्वा सत्यानि संप्रकाशितानि[4]। श्रुत्वा चानेकैः प्राणिशतसहस्रैर् [5]मोक्षभागीयानि कुशलमूलान्याक्षिप्तानि। कैश्चिदनागामिफलं प्राप्तं[6]। कैश्चित् सकृदागामिफलं। कैश्चिच् छ्रोतापत्तिफलं[7]। यावदष्टादशसहस्राणि प्रव्रजितानि। सर्वैश्च [8]युज्यमानैर्यावदर्हत्त्वं प्राप्तं।

तत्र चोरुमुण्डपर्वते गुहाऽष्टादशहस्ता[9] दीर्घेण द्वादशहस्ता[9] विस्तरेण। यदा ते कृतकरणीयाः संवृत्तास्तदा स्थविरोपगुप्तेनाभिहितं। यो मदीयेनाववादेन सर्वक्लेशप्रहाणाद्[10] अर्हत्त्वं साक्षात्करिष्यति तेन चतुरङ्गुलमात्रा शलाका गुहायां प्रक्षेप्तव्या।

यावदेकस्मिन् दिवसे[11]ष्टादशभिरर्हत्सहस्रैः शलाकाः प्रक्षिप्ताः। तस्य यावदासमुद्रायां शब्दो विसृतः[12]। मथुरायामुपगुप्तनामा [13]अववादकानामग्रो निर्दिष्टो भगवता। तद्यथा[14] हि।

विनीतकामधात्वीश्वरे द्वितीयशास्तृकल्पे महात्मनि स्थविरोपगुप्ते सुरमनुजमहोरगासुरगरुडयक्षगन्धर्वविद्याधरार्चितपादयुग्मे [सति] पूर्वबुद्धक्षेत्रावरोपितकुशलबीजसन्ततीनाम्[15] अनेकेषां सत्त्वशतसहस्राणां सद्धर्मसलिलवर्षधारानिपाता[16] मोक्षाङ्कुरान् अभ्यवर्धयन्नुरुमुण्डे शैले।

कार्यानुरोधात् प्रणतसकलसामन्तचूडामणिमयूखोद्भासितपादपीठस्याशोकस्य राज्ञः पूर्वं पांशुप्रदानं समनुस्मरिष्यामः। इत्येवमनुश्रूयते।

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[1]Div. °*bhīninadati*. [2]Chl omits. [3–4]Chl "preached in all the ways, the excellent Law, so that...". [5–6]Chl omits. [7]Chl adds *prāptaṁ*. [8]Chl omits this word. [9]Ch2 agrees with the text. Chl gives the measurement as before: "36 feet long and 24 feet broad". [10]Chl omits. [11]Chl *māse*. Div. *daśabhi*° for *aṣṭādaśa*°. [12]Chl *evaṁ tasya jambudvīpe yaśo*°. [13]Chl translates *avavādaka* as "one who teaches how to sit in meditation (*dhyāna*)." [14]Chl omits. Div. *bhagavatos tad*°. [15]A *sammitānām*, B *saṁtīnām*, C *saṁgītānām*, D *saṁtānām*, E *saṁtītānām*. [16]Div. °*nipātena .... abhivar*°. Chl omits this para and the following one.

पांशुप्रदानं नाम प्रकरणं

[1]भगवान् राजगृहे विहरति वेणुवने [2]कलन्दकनिवापे। अथ भगवान् पूर्वाह्णे निवास्य पात्रचीवरमादाय[3] भिक्षुगणपरिवृतो भिक्षुसङ्घपुरस्कृतो राजगृहं पिण्डाय प्राविक्षत्। वक्ष्यति च।

कनकाचलसन्निभाग्रदेहो[4] द्विरदेन्द्रप्रतिमः सलीलगामी[5]।
परिपूर्णशशाङ्कसौम्यवक्त्रो[6] भगवान् भिक्षुगणैर्वृतो जगाम[7]॥

यावद् भगवता साभिसंस्कारं[8] नगरद्वारे[9] पादं प्रतिष्ठापितं। धर्मता[10] खलु यस्मिन् समये बुद्धा भगवन्तः साभिसंस्कारं नगरद्वारमिन्द्रकीले पादौ व्यवस्थापयन्ति। तदा चित्राणि अद्भुतानि प्रादुर्भवन्ति। अन्धाश्चक्षूंषि प्रतिलभन्ते। बधिराः श्रोत्रग्रहणसमर्था भवन्ति। पङ्गवो गमनसमर्था भवन्ति। [11]हडिनिगडचारकावबद्धानां सत्त्वानां बन्धनानि शिथिलीभवन्ति। जन्मजन्मवैरानुबद्धाः सत्त्वास्तदनन्तरं मैत्रचित्ततां लभन्ते। वत्सा दामानि छित्त्वा मातृभिः सार्धं समागच्छन्ति। हस्तिनः क्रोशन्ति। अश्वा ह्रेषन्ते। ऋषभा गर्जन्ति। शुकशारिककोकिलजीवजीवकबर्हिणो मधुरान् निकूजन्ति। पेडागतालङ्कारा मधुरशब्दं निश्चारयन्ति। अपराहतानि च वादित्रभाण्डानि मधुरं शब्दं निश्चारयन्ति। उन्नतोन्नता पृथिवीप्रदेशा[12] अवनमन्ति। अवनताश्चोन्नमन्ति[13]। अपगतपाषाणशर्करकपालाश्चावतिष्ठन्ते[14]।

इयं च तस्मिन् समये पृथिवी षड्विकारं[15] प्रकम्प्यते। [16]तद्यथा, पूर्वो दिग्भाग उन्नमति। पश्चिमोऽवनमति। अन्तोऽवनमति। मध्य

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[1]Chl adds: *sarvajñaṁ bhagavantaṁ śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi.* [2]Div. *kalindaka°*. Chl *kalanda.* It omits *nivāpa*; "in the bamboo-wood of squirrels". [3]Chl omits *cīvara.* [4]Chl "He is immovable like a golden mountain." [5]Chl "His appearance is pleasant like the king of elephants." [6]Chl *pūrṇa-vaktro* ("a full face") for *saumya°*. [7]Chl "He went to the big city of Rājagṛha. His demeanour was highly dignified." [8]Chl omits. [9]Chl adds: *indrakīle* (threshold, *cf.* Pali *indakhīla*) [10–14]Chl omits. [11]Div. ABC *hattri* (DE *haḍi*) ABCDE *°nigata°*. [12]ABC *°praveśā.* [13]Div. reads *avanamatāś co°*. [15]Chl "six times". [16]Chl omits this para.

उन्नमति। चलितः प्रचलितो वेधितः प्रवेधित इतीमे चान्ये चाद्भुतधर्माः प्रादुर्भवन्ति। भगवतो नगरप्रवेशे वक्ष्यति[१]।

लवणजलनिवासिनी ततो वा नगरनिगममण्डिता सशैला[२]।
मुनिचरणनिपीडिता च भूमी[३] पवनबलहृतं हि यानपात्रं[४]॥

अथ बुद्धप्रवेशकालनियतैः प्रातिहार्यैरावर्जिताः स्त्रीमनुष्यास्[५], तन्नगरम् अनिलबलचलितभिन्नवीचितरङ्गक्षुभितमिव महासमुद्रं [६]विमुक्तोच्चनादं बभूव[७]। न हि बुद्धप्रवेशतुल्यं नाम जगत्यद्भुतमुपलभ्यते[८]। पुरप्रवेशसमये हि भगवतश्[९] चित्राण्यद्भुतानि दृश्यन्ते। वक्ष्यति हि[१०]।

निम्ना चोन्नमते नतावनमते बुद्धानुभावान् मही
स्थूणा[११]शर्करकण्टकव्यपगता निर्दोषतां याति च।
अन्धा मूकजडेन्द्रियाश्च पुरुषा व्यक्तेन्द्रियास्तत्क्षणं
संवाद्यन्त्यनिघट्टिताश्च नगरे नन्दन्ति तूर्यस्वनाः[१२]॥

सर्वं च तन्नगरं[१३] सूर्यसहस्रातिरेकया कनकमरीचिवर्णया बुद्धप्रभया स्फुटं बभूव। आह च।

सूर्यप्रभां स[१४]मवभर्त्स्य हि तस्य भाभिर्
व्याप्तं जगत् सकलमेव सकाननस्थं।

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[1]Chl omits. [1–2]Chl reads: "(the earth) which has the oceans as its ornaments, as well as the mountains and towns . . .". [3–4]Chl "The whole earth, on all sides, moved and fell in, when the *muni* with his feet trod the threshold of the door." [4–5]Chl "When he thus enters into the town, the men and women acquire the pure faith." [4]Div. °*balābhihateva yā*°. [6–7]Chl "All render a harmonious sound, a parallel to which had never happened in the world." [7–8]Chl omits. [9–10]Chl omits. [11]Div. *sthāṇuḥ*. [10–12]Chl "Hillocks get levelled. There are no more any sands or rubbish; thorns and the filth all disappear from the earth. The blind sees, the deaf hears, the dumb speaks, the lame gets cured, the fool becomes sensible, the poor becomes rich, the ill is made whole. All the musical instruments resound without being played or beaten by anybody. The precious instruments knock against each other and bring forth all kinds of sounds." [13]Chl *vastujātam antar bahiś ca*. [14]Div. °*prabhām ava*°.

संप्राप[1] च प्रवरधर्मकथाभिरामो
लोकं सुरासुरनरं हि समुक्तभावं ।।

यावद् भगवान्[2] राजमार्गं प्रतिपन्नः। तत्र द्वौ बालदारकौ। एकोऽग्रकुलिकपुत्रो द्वितीयः कुलिकपुत्रश्च। [3]पांश्वागारैः क्रीडतः[3]। एकस्य जयो नाम द्वितीयस्य विजयः। ताभ्यां भगवान् दृष्टो द्वात्रिंशमहापुरुषलक्षणालङ्कृतशरीरो[4]ऽसेचनकदर्शनश्च।

यावज् जयेन दारकेण शक्तुं दास्यामीति[5] पांश्वञ्जलिर्भगवतः पात्रे[6] प्रक्षिप्तः। विजयेन च कृताञ्जलिनाभ्यनुमोदितं। वक्ष्यति च[7]।

दृष्ट्वा महाकारुणिकं[8] स्वयम्भुवं व्यामप्रभोद्द्योतितसर्वगात्रं।
धीरेण वक्त्रेण कृतप्रसादः[9] पांशुं ददौ[10] जातिजरान्तकाय ।।

स भगवते प्रतिपादयित्वा प्रणिधानं कर्तुमारब्धः। [11]अनेनाहं कुशलमूलेन[12] एकच्छत्रायां पृथिव्यां राजा स्याम्। अत्रैव[13] च बुद्धे भगवति कारां कुर्यामिति।

ततो मुनिस्तस्य निशाम्य भावं बालस्य सम्यक् प्रणिधिं च बुद्ध्वा।
इष्टं फलं [14]क्षेत्रवशेन दृष्ट्वा जग्राह पांशुं करुणायमानः ।।

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[1]Div. °*prāpya*. Chl reads this *śloka*: "The splendour diffused from Buddha eclipsed the sun and the moon. Enlightening the creatures, they (the rays of Buddha) refreshed them and made them rejoice extremely. Like the feverish ointed with sandal-paste there was none who was not appeased." [2]Chl adds: *ānandena saha*. [3]Chl amplifies this: "Kneading the earth, they were amusing themselves by making a town of earth. In that town they made houses and granaries. With the earth they made grains which they put in the granaries." [4–5]Chl amplifies: "The golden splendour which he emitted illuminated the town within and abroad in such a way, that all the things were of golden colour and there was nothing which was not glittering. Having seen him, they rejoiced. Then Jaya, taking from the granary, the earth which he had given the name of grain . . .". These amplifications are not found in Ch2 which simply indicates by allusion that the earth offered to Buddha symbolised the grain. [6]Chl adds: *śraddhayā*. [7]Chl "Then Jaya pronounced this *gāthā* of praise:" [8]Chl *namāmi tvāṁ kāruṇikaṁ*. [9]Chl *lit.* "the firm air which inspires faith and respect". [10]Chl *dade* (*ahaṁ*). [11–12]Chl omits. [13]Chl "reciting *gāthās*". [14]C *kṣatra*°.

तेन यावद् राज्यवैपाक्यं कुशलमाक्षिप्तं। ततो भगवता स्मितं विदर्शितं।

धर्मता खलु यस्मिन् समये बुद्धा भगवन्तः स्मितं विदर्शयन्ति। तस्मिन् समये नीलपीतलोहितावदातमञ्जिष्ठस्फटिकरजतवर्णा अर्चिषो मुखान् निश्चरन्ति। केचिदूर्ध्वतो गच्छन्ति केचिदधस्ताद् गच्छन्ति। येऽधो गच्छन्ति ते सञ्जीवं कालसूत्रं संघातं रौरवं महारौरवं तपनं प्रतापनमवीचिपर्यन्तेषु गत्वा ये शीतनरकास्ते[1]षूष्णीभूत्वा निपतन्ति। ये उष्णनरकास्तेषु शीतीभूत्वा निपतन्ति।

तेन तेषां सत्त्वानां कारणविशेषाः प्रतिप्रस्रभ्यन्ते[2]। तेषामेवं भवति। किं नु भवन्तो वयमितश्च्युता आहोस्विदन्यत्रोपपन्ना इति। येनास्माकं कारणविशेषाः प्रतिप्रस्रब्धाः[2]। तेषां भगवान् प्रसादसंजननार्थं निर्मितं विसर्जयति। तेषामेवं भवति। न वयं च्युता नाप्यन्यत्रोपपन्नाः। अपि तु अयमपूर्वदर्शनोऽस्यानुभावेनास्माकं कारणविशेषाः प्रतिप्रस्रब्धा इति[2]। ते निर्मिते चित्तानि प्रसादयित्वा नरकवेदनीयानि कर्माणि क्षपयित्वा[3] देवमनुष्येषु प्रतिसन्धिं गृह्णन्ति। यत्र सत्यानां भाजनभूता भवन्ति। ये ऊर्ध्वतो गच्छन्ति ते चतुर्महाराजिकान् देवांस्त्रयस्त्रिंशान् यामांस्तुषितान् निर्माणरतीन्[4] परनिर्मितवशवर्तिनो ब्रह्मकायिकान् ब्रह्मपुरोहितान् महाब्रह्मान् परीत्ताभान्[5] अप्रमाणाभान् [6]आभास्वरान् परीत्तशुभान् अप्रमाणशुभान् शुभकृत्स्नान् अनभ्रकान् पुण्यप्रसवान् बृहत्फलान् अबृहान् अतपान् सुदृशान् सुदर्शनान् अकनिष्ठपर्यन्तेषु देवेषु गत्वा अनित्यं दुःखं शून्यम् अनात्मेति उद्घोषयन्ति। गाथाद्वयं च भाषन्ते[7]।

[8]आरभध्वं निष्क्रामत युज्यध्वं बुद्धशासने।
धुनीत मृत्युनः सैन्यं नडागारमिव कुञ्जरः[8]॥

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[1]Div. °*te uṣṇī*°. [2]Div. *kāraṇav . . . pratiprasra*°. [3]Div. *kṣepa*°. [4]Div. °*ratayaḥ*. [5]Div. *paritā*°. [6]Div. *apramāṇābhāsva*°. [7]Div. *bhāṣate*. Ch1 omits this paragraph and the preceding. Ch2 reads. [8]Ch1 omits. Ch2 reads.

[1]यो ह्यस्मिन् धर्मविनये अप्रमत्तश्चरिष्यति ।
प्रहाय जातिसंसारं दुःखस्यान्तं करिष्यति ।।

अथ ता अर्चिषस्त्रिसाहस्रमहासाहस्रं लोकधातुमन्वाहिण्डच भगवन्तमेवानुगच्छन्ति । यदि भगवानतीतं कर्म व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पृष्ठतोऽन्तर्धीयन्तेऽनागतं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पुरतोऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । नरकोपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पादतलेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । तिर्यगुपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पाष्र्ण्यामन्तर्धीयन्ते । प्रेतोपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति पादांगुष्ठेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । मनुष्योपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति जानुनो[र]न्तर्धीयन्ते । बलचक्रवर्तिराज्यं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति वामे करतलेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । चक्रवर्तिराज्यं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति दक्षिणे करतलेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । देवोपपत्तिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति नाभ्यामन्तर्धीयन्ते । श्रावकबोधिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति आस्येऽन्तर्धीयन्ते । प्रत्येकां बोधिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति ऊर्णायामन्तर्धीयन्ते । अनुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिं व्याकर्तुकामो भवति उष्णीषेऽन्तर्धीयन्ते ।

अथ ता अर्चिषो भगवन्तं त्रिःप्रदक्षिणीकृत्य भगवतो वामे करतलेऽन्तर्हिताः[२] ।

अथायुष्मान् आनन्दः [३]कृताञ्जलिपुटो गाथां[४] भाषते । नाहेत्वप्रत्ययः[५] ।

[६]गतोद्भवा दैन्यमदप्रहीणा बुद्धा जगत्युत्तमहेतुभूताः[७] ।
नाकारणं शङ्खमृणालगौरं स्मितं [८]विदर्शन्ति जिना[९] जितारयः[९] ।।
तत्कालं स्वयमधिगम्य वीर बुद्धया श्रोतॄणां श्रमण जिनेन्द्र कांक्षितानां ।
धीराभिर्मुनिवृष वाग्भिरुत्तमाभिरुत्पन्नं व्यपनय संशयं शुभाभिः[१०] ।।
मेघस्तनितनिर्घोष गोवृषेन्द्रनिभेक्षण[११] ।
फलं पांशुप्रदानस्य व्याकुरुष्व नरोत्तम[१२] ।।

[1–2]Chl omits. Ch2 reads. *antardhīyante=antardadhate.* [3]Chl adds *praṇamya.* [4–5]Chl *bhagavantam uvāca : bhagavan nāhetvapratyayaṁ tathāgatāḥ smitaṁ pradarśayanti; kasmād bhagavatā smitaṁ pradarśitaṁ. atha ānando gāthāṁ bhāṣate.* [6]Div. *vigato°.* [7]Chl "Buddha who is the best in the world." Div. *jagaduttam°.* [8]Chl "shows his teeth." Div. *°śayanti.* [9]Chl omits. [10]Chl omits this *śloka.* It is found in Ch2. [11]Div. *°naḥ.* [12]Div. *°maḥ.* Chl reads this *pāda:*

भगवानाह। एतदानन्द एवमेतद् आनन्द नाहेत्वप्रत्ययं[१] तथागता[२] अर्हन्तः सम्यक्संबुद्धाः[३] स्मितमुपदर्शयन्ति। [४]अपि तु सहेतु सप्रत्ययं तथागता अर्हन्तः सम्यक्संबुद्धाः स्मितमुपदर्शयन्ति[५]।

पश्यसि त्वमानन्द दारकं[६] येन[७] तथागतस्य पात्रे पांशवञ्जलिः प्रक्षिप्तः[७]। एवं भदन्त[७]। अयमानन्द दारकः अनेन[४] कुशलमूलेन[५] वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथागतस्य [८]पाटलिपुत्रे नगरेऽशोको नाम्ना राजा भविष्यति। चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती[९] धार्मिको धर्मराजा[१०]। यो मे शरीरधातून् वैस्तारिकान् करिष्यति। चतुरशीति[११]धर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति। बहुजनहिताय प्रतिपत्स्यते। इति। आह च।

अस्तंगते मयि भविष्यति सैकराजा[१२]
योऽसौ ह्यशोक इति नाम विशालकीर्तिः।
[१३]मद्धातुगर्भपरिमण्डितजम्बुषण्डम्
एतत् करिष्यति नरामरपूजितं नु[१४]॥

अयमस्य देयधर्मो यत् तथागतस्य पांशवञ्जलिः पात्रे प्रक्षिप्तः[१५]।

यावद् भगवता तेषां सर्वं आयुष्मत आनन्दाय दत्ताः। गोमयेन[१६] मिश्रयित्वा[१६] यत्र चंक्रमे तथागतश्चंक्रम्यते तत्र गोमयकार्षी[१६] प्रयच्छेति[१७]। यावदायुष्मताऽनन्देन तेषां सगोमयेन मिश्रयित्वा यत्र चंक्रमति भगवान् तत्र गोमयकार्षी दत्ता[१८]।

तेन खलु पुनः समयेन राजगृहे नगरे बिम्बिसारो राजा राज्यं कारयति[१९]। राज्ञो [२०]बिम्बिसारस्य अजातशत्रुः पुत्रः। अजातशत्रोरु-

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smitasya kāraṇaṁ brūhi.
[1]Div. reads: *nāheturapra°*. [2–3]Chl *buddhāḥ*. [4–5]Chl omits. [6]Chl *dārakau*. [7]Div. D *°nto'yamā°*, rest *bhavanto'ya°*. [8]Chl *kusumapure* (*i.e. pāṭali-*). [9]Chl "Who makes the wheel turn, master of one of the four continents." [10]=*rājaḥ*. [11]BC *°tiḥ*, AD *°tir*. [12]=*ekarājo*. [13–14]Chl "He will adorn my relics; with them he will fill the Jambudvīpa. Men as well as gods will bring offerings to them." [14]Div. *-pūjitānām*. [15]Chl "Such will be the great recompense for giving a little of dust." This line too is included in the *gāthā*. [16]Chl omits but Ch2 reads. [17]Div. *°yacchati*. [17–18]Chl "On that occasion, he pronounced these words: O, Ānanda . . ." The story seems to be discontinued here. [19]Chl omits this sentence. [20]Chl Bimbasāra°.

दायी[1]। उदायिभद्रस्य मुण्डः। मुण्डस्य काकवर्णी[2]। [3]काकवर्णिनः सहली[3]। सहलिनस्तुलकुचिः[4]। तुलकुचेर्महामण्डलः[5]। [5]महामण्डलस्य प्रसेनजित्। प्रसेनजितो नन्दः। नन्दस्य बिन्दुसारः। पाटलिपुत्रे नगरे बिन्दुसारो नाम राजा राज्यं कारयति। बिन्दुसारस्य राज्ञः पुत्रो जातः। तस्य सुसीम इति नामधेयं कृतं।

तेन च समयेन चम्पायां[6] नगर्यामन्यतमो ब्राह्मणः। [7]तस्य दुहिता जाता। अभिरूपा दर्शनीया प्रासादिका जनपदकल्याणी[8]। सा नैमित्तिकैर्व्याकृता। अस्या दारिकाया राजा भर्ता भविष्यति[9]। द्वे पुत्ररत्ने जनयिष्यति। एकश्चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती भविष्यति। द्वितीयः प्रव्रजित्वा सिद्धव्रतो[10] भविष्यति[10]। श्रुत्वा च ब्राह्मणस्य रोमहर्षो जातः। सम्पत्तिकामो लोकः[11]।

[12]स तां दुहितरं ग्रहाय पाटलिपुत्रं गतः[13]। तेन सा सर्वालङ्कारैर्विभूषयित्वा राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य भार्यार्थमनुप्रदत्ता। [13]इयं हि देवकन्या धन्या प्रशस्ता चेति[13]।

यावद्राज्ञा बिन्दुसारेणान्तःपुरं प्रवेशिता। [14]अन्तःपुरिकाणां बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। इयमभिरूपा प्रासादिका जनपदकल्याणी। यदि राजाऽनया सार्धं परिचारयिष्यति अस्माकं भूयश्चक्षुःसंप्रेषणमपि न करि-

[1]D *ujāyī*. Chl *udānabhadraḥ*. [2]Chl °*karṇī*. [3]D *sahālī*. Chl *saphalaḥ, saphalasya*. [4]C *bhulekucī, bhulekuceḥ*. [5]Chl *sahama*°. Ch2 does not give this long list. It simply says: "In the city of Pāṭaliputra there was a king named Candragupta. This king had a son who was called Bindusāra." The name of Candragupta is omitted both in Div. and Chl. [6]Chl "In the kingdom of Campala". [7–8]Chl "to whom was born a jewel of a girl." [9]Chl adds: "She will be the favourite of the king." [10]Chl *arhattvaṁ prāpsyati*. [11]Chl omits this sentence. [12–13]Chl omits. [14]Chl reads: "In the palace, the queens were all jealous. They thought: 'The king will certainly love her and hate all of us. Let us teach her a low profession, so that the king may dislike her.' They taught her with success to cut and dress the hair and the beard. Waiting till the king was asleep they made her shave the beard of the king. The king got up and said: 'I have to

ष्यति। ताभिः सा नापितकर्म शिक्षापिता। सा राज्ञः केशश्मश्रु[१] प्रसाधयति। यावत् सुशिक्षिता संवृत्ता। यदारभते राज्ञः केशश्मश्रु[१] प्रसाधयितुं तदा राजा शेते। यावद्राज्ञा प्रीतेन वरेण प्रवारिता[२]। किं त्वं वरमिच्छसीति। तयाऽभिहितं। देवेन मे सह समागमः स्यात्। राजाह। त्वं नापिनी[३] अहं राजा[४] क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः[४]। कथं मया सार्धं समागमो भविष्यति। सा कथयति। देव नाहं नापिनी[५]। अपि ब्राह्मणस्याहं दुहिता। तेन देवस्य पत्न्यर्थं दत्ता[६]। राजा कथयति। केन त्वं नापितकर्म शिक्षापिता। सा कथयति। अन्तःपुरिकाभिः[७]। राजाऽह। न भूयस्त्वया नापितकर्म[८] कर्तव्यं।

यावद्राजाग्रमहिषी स्थापिता। [९]तया सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। सा आपन्नसत्त्वा संवृत्ता। यावदष्टानां नवानां मासानामत्ययात् प्रसूता[१०]। तस्याः पुत्रो जातः।

[११]तस्य विस्तरेण जातिमहं कृत्वा [पृच्छति] किं कुमारस्य भवतु नाम[१२]। सा कथयति। [११]अस्य दारकस्य जातस्य[१२] अशोकाऽस्मि संवृत्ता। [१३]तस्याशोक इति नाम कृतम्[१४]।

यावद् द्वितीयः पुत्रो जातः। विगते[११] शोके जातस्[१२] तस्य वीतशोक इति नाम कृतं।

अशोको दुःस्पर्शगात्रः। राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्यानभिप्रेतः।

[१५]अथ राजा बिन्दुसारः[११] कुमारं परीक्षितुकामः[१२] पिङ्गलवत्साजीवं परिव्राजकमामन्त्रयते। उपाध्याय कुमारांस्तावत् परीक्षयामः[१६]।

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shave my beard.' She said that it was done. Then the king looked into the mirror and seeing that the beard was shaved, said..." [1]Div. °*śmaśruṁ*. [1–2]Chl omits. [3]Chl "You are of low status." [4]Chl omits. [5]Chl "I am not of low status." [6]Chl adds: "The concubines through jealousy have taught me a low profession." [6–7]Chl omits. [8]Chl "this profession". [9–10]Chl "They loved and lived in pleasure." [11–12]Chl omits. [13]Chl adds: *ataḥ*. [14]Chl adds: "Aśoka signifies 'without grief'." [15]Chl adds: "Bindusāra had besides numerous sons from his other wives. He gathered together the diviners to cast horoscopes of his sons. There was one diviner named *pi liṅga vatsa* (Ch2 Piṅgalavatsa)." [16]Chl *parīkṣasva*. Div. °*kṣāmaḥ*.

कः शक्यते ममात्ययाद् राज्यं कारयितुं। पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकः कथयति। तेन हि देव कुमारानादाय सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं[१] निर्गच्छ, परीक्षयामः। यावद्राजा कुमारानादाय सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं[१] निर्गतः।

यावदशोकः कुमारो मात्रा चोच्यते। वत्स राजा कुमारान् परीक्षितुकामः सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं[१] गतः। त्वमपि तत्र गच्छेति। अशोकः कथयति। राज्ञोऽहमनभिप्रेतो दर्शनेनापि। किमहं तत्र गमिष्यामि। सा कथयति। तथापि गच्छेति। अशोक उवाच। आहारं प्रेषय[२]।

यावदशोकः पाटलिपुत्रान्निर्गच्छति। राधगुप्तेन चाग्रामात्यपुत्रेणोक्तः। अशोक क्व गमिष्यसीति। अशोकः कथयति। राजाद्य सुवर्णमण्डपे[१] उद्याने कुमारान् परीक्षयति[३]। तत्र राज्ञो महल्लको हस्तिनागस्तिष्ठति[४]। यावदशोकस्तस्मिन् महल्लकेऽभिरुह्य सुवर्णमण्डपमुद्यानं[१] गत्वा कुमाराणां मध्येऽत्र पृथिव्यां प्रस्तीर्य[५] निषसाद।

यावत्[६] कुमाराणामाहार उपनामितः। अशोकस्यापि मात्रा शाल्योदनं दधिसंमिश्रं मृद्भाजने प्रेषितं[७]। ततो राज्ञा बिन्दुसारेण पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकोऽभिहितः। उपाध्याय परीक्षस्व[८] कुमारान्। कः शक्यते ममात्ययाद् राज्यं कर्तुमिति। पश्यति पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकः। चिन्तयति च। अशोको राजा भविष्यति। अयं च राज्ञो नाभिप्रेतः। यदि कथयिष्यामि अशोको राजा भविष्यतीति, नास्ति मे जीवितं। स कथयति। देवाभेदेन

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[1]Chl "park of golden earth". Ch2 "golden palace". Div. *parīkṣāmaḥ*. [2]Chl adds: "Then he took leave and went away." [3]Chl *ekatra āhvayati*; *adhunā aham api tatra gantum icchāmi*. [3–4]Chl "Then (Rādha-)Gupta who mounted on an old elephant said to Aśoka: 'mount on this elephant.'" [5]Chl omits. [6–7]Chl "The princes ate all the dishes of all sorts. Aśoka ate boiled rice contained in an earthen pot. He mixed it with fermented milk (*dadhi*). He quenched his thirst with water." [6]Div. *kumārāṇām āhāram*. [8]Div. *parīkṣa*. See below.

[1]व्याकरिष्यामि। राजाऽह। अभेदेन व्याकुरुष्व। आह। यस्य यानं शोभनं स राजा भविष्यति[2]।

तेषामेकैकस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। मम यानं शोभनमहं राजा भविष्यामि। अशोकश्चिन्तयति। अहं हस्तिस्कन्धेनागतो मम यानं शोभनमहं राजा भविष्यामीति। राजाऽह। भूयस्तावद् उपाध्याय परीक्षस्व। पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकः कथयति। देव यस्यासनमग्रं स राजा भविष्यति।

तेषामेकैकस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। ममासनमग्रं। अशोकश्चिन्तयति। मम पृथिवी आसनमहं राजा भविष्यामि। एवं भाजनं भोजनं पानं विस्तरेण कुमाराणां[3] परीक्ष्य [पाटलिपुत्रं] प्रविष्टः[4]।

[5]यावदशोको मात्रोच्यते। को व्याकृतो राजा भविष्यतीति। अशोकः कथयति। अभेदेन व्याकृतं। यस्य यानमग्रमासनं पानं भाजनं भोजनं चेति स राजा भविष्यतीति। यथा पश्यामि[6] अहं राजा भविष्यामि। मम [7]हस्तिस्कन्धं [8]यानं पृथिवी [8]आसनं मृन्मयं [8]भाजनं शाल्योदनं[9] दधिव्यञ्जनं[8] भोजनं[10] पानीयं [8]पानमिति[11]।

ततः पिङ्गलवत्साजीवः परिव्राजकोऽशोको राजा भविष्यतीति तस्य सातरमारब्धः सेवितुं। यावत् तयोच्यते। उपाध्याय कतरः कुमारो राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्यात्ययाद् राजा भविष्यतीति। आह। अशोकः[12]। तयोच्यते। कदाचित्[13] त्वां राजा निर्बन्धेन पृच्छेत[14]।

[1–2]Chl "I cannot tell his name but I can describe his nature: He who avails himself of the best things will be the king." [3]Div. °*rān*. [2–4]Chl "Among the sons of the king, everyone believed himself to be the chosen one: one because of his mounting the best mount, the other because of his sitting on the best seat, another because of his eating the best food, still another because of his being served with the best vessel, yet another because of his drinking the best drink." [5–6]Chl *aśokaścintayati*. [7]Chl simply *hastī*. [8]Chl adds: *uttamaṁ*. [9]Chl *odanaṁ*. [10]Div. omits it. [11]Chl adds: "For these reasons, I am going to be the king. When the diviner proclaimed the oracle, the king sent back his sons to the town." [11–12]Chl "The diviner said to the mother of Aśoka: 'Aśoka will certainly be the king.'" [13–14]Chl "Mind, you don't repeat it."

गच्छ त्वं प्रत्यन्तं समाश्रय[१]। यदा शृणोषि अशोको राजा संवृत्तस्त-दाऽगन्तव्यं। यावत्स प्रत्यन्तेषु जनपदेषु संश्रितः[२]।

अथ राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य तक्षशिला नाम नगरं विरुद्धं। तत्र राज्ञा बिन्दुसारेण अशोको विसर्जितः। [३]गच्छ कुमार तक्षशिला-नगरं। संनाहय[४]। चतुरङ्गबलकायं दत्तं। यानं[५] प्रहरणं च प्रति-षिद्धं।

यावदशोकः कुमारः पाटलिपुत्रान्निर्गच्छन् भृत्यैर्विज्ञप्तः। कुमार नैवास्माकं सैन्यप्रहरणं[६] केन वयं कं योधयामः[७]। ततोऽशोके-नाभिहितं।

यदि मम राज्यवैपाक्यं कुशलमस्ति सैन्यप्रहरणं[८] प्रादुर्भवतु। एवमुक्ते कुमारेण पृथिव्यामवकाशो दत्तो देवताभिः [९]सैन्यप्रहरणानि चोपनीतानि। यावत् कुमारश्चतुरङ्गेण बलकायेन तक्षशिलां गतः।

[१०]श्रुत्वा तक्षशिलानिवासिनः पौरा अर्धतृतीयानि योजनानि मार्गं शोभां कृत्वा पूर्णघटमादाय प्रत्युद्गताः। प्रत्युद्गम्य च कथयन्ति[११]। न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा नापि राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्य। अपि तु दुष्टामात्या अस्माकं परिभवं कुर्वन्ति[१२]। महता च सत्कारेण तक्षशिलां प्रवेशितः[१३]।

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[1]Chl adds: *svajīvitarakṣārthaṁ*. [2]Chl omits this sentence. [3–4]Chl "to subdue that kingdom". [5]Chl omits it. [6]Chl simply *praharaṇaṁ*. [7]Chl "How can we vie with the rebels ?" Div. *yodhyāmaḥ*. [8]Div. *sainyaṁ praharaṇaṁ ca*. Chl "I am to be the king by virtue of my merits. The arms which we need will come of themselves." [9]Chl omits *sainya*. [10–11]Chl "The inhabitants of the kingdom knowing the advent of Aśoka yielded at once. They decorated the precincts of the town and the ditches, and levelled the routes. Carrying all that which is a sign of submission: vessels stored with articles and covered over with flowers which are called the vessels of auspicious signs (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa* or *maṅgala*°), they came to meet him at a distance of half a *yojana* and said to him..." [12]Chl reads this sentence as: "We have revolted only against the wicked ministers who are close to the king." [12–13]Chl "They followed Aśoka, giving him offerings and expressing their profound respect; and entered the town. The inhabitants being subdued, he returned to his country."

एवं विस्तरेण अशोकः [1]खशराज्यं प्रवेशितः[2]। तस्य द्वौ महानग्नौ[3] संश्रितौ। तेन तौ वृत्त्या संविभक्तौ[4]। तस्याग्रतः पर्वतान् संछिन्दन्तौ संप्रस्थितौ[5]। देवताभि[6]श्चोक्तं। अशोकश्चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती[7] भविष्यति। न केनचिद् विरोधितव्यमिति। विस्तरेण यावदासमुद्रा पृथिवी आज्ञापिता[8]।

यावत् सुसीमः कुमार[9] उद्यानात्[9] पाटलिपुत्रं प्रविशति। राज्ञो बिन्दुसारस्याग्रामात्यः खल्वाटकः[10] पाटलिपुत्रान्निर्गच्छति। तस्य सुसीमेन कुमारेण क्रीडाभिप्रायतया खटका मूर्ध्नि पातिता। यावदमात्यश्चिन्तयति। [11]इदानीं खटकां निपातयति। यदा राजा भविष्यति तदा शस्त्रं पातयिष्यति। तथा करिष्यामि यथा राजैव न भविष्यति। तेन पञ्चामात्यशतानि भिन्नानि[12]। अशोकश्चतुर्भाग-चक्रवर्ती[13] निर्दिष्टः। एतं[14] राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामः। तक्षशिलाश्च पुनर्[15] विरोधिताः।

यावद्राज्ञा सुसीमः कुमारस्तक्षशिलामनुप्रेषितः। न च शक्यते संनामयितुं। बिन्दुसारश्च राजा ग्लानीभूतः[16]। तेनाभिहितं।

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[1]Div. *svaśa*°. [2]Chl "The king again charged Aśoka to chastise the kingdom of Khaśa. The inhabitants of that kingdom came to meet him and yielded in the same way as before. Having subdued them, Aśoka returned to his country." [3]Chl *mallau*. [4]Chl "Aśoka gave them fief of towns." [4–5]Chl "At that time, the gods and the *yakṣas* protected the territory of the kingdom." [6]Chl adds: *yakṣaiś ca*. [7]Chl adds: "saint-king". [8]Chl reads this sentence as: "He will gradually increase his conquests and all who are within the four oceans will be subdued by him." [9]Chl "elder brother of Aśoka". [10]Div. *khallā*°. [11–12]Chl "'This prince has not yet succeeded to the throne and already he uses his power to strike me on the head. If he succeeds to the throne he will undoubtedly behead me with a sword.' Then he related to the five hundred ministers this fault of Susīma and told them, 'He is not worthy to be the king.'" [13]Chl adds: "saint-king". [14]Div. *eavṁ*. [15]Div. omits it. Chl "Afterwards, the kingdom of Takṣaśilā revolted again under the influence of the wicked advisers." [16]Chl "King Bindusāra, knowing that he could not subdue this kingdom, fell ill."

सुसीमं कुमारमानयत[१]। राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामीति। अशोकं तक्षशिलां प्रवेशयत[१]।

यावदमात्यैरशोकः कुमारो हरिद्रया प्रलिप्तः। [२]लाक्षां च लोहपात्रे क्वाथयित्वा क्वथितेन रसेन लोहपात्राणि म्रक्षयित्वा[३] छोरयन्ति। अशोकः कुमारो ग्लानीभूत इति[४]। यदा बिन्दुसारः स्वल्पावशेषप्राणः संवृत्तस्तदाऽमात्यैरशोकः कुमारः सर्वालङ्कारैर्भूषयित्वा राज्ञो[५] बिन्दुसारस्योपनीतः[६]। इमं तावद् राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापय[७]। यदा सुसीम आगतो भविष्यति तदा [८]तं राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामः[९]।

ततो राजा रुषितः[१०]। अशोकेन चाभिहितं[११]। यदि मम धर्मेण राज्यं भवति देवता मम पट्टं बध्नन्तु[१२]। यावद् देवताभिः पट्टो बद्धः। तं दृष्ट्वा [१३]बिन्दुसारस्य राज्ञ उष्णं शोणितं मुखादागतं। यावत् कालगतः।

यदाऽशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितस् [१४]तस्योर्ध्वं योजनं यक्षाः [आदेशं] शृण्वन्ति। अधो योजनं नागाः[१५]। तेन राधगुप्तोऽग्रामात्यः स्थापितः।

सुसीमेनापि श्रुतं बिन्दुसारो राजा कालगतोऽशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितः। इति श्रुत्वा च रुषितमभ्यागतः[१६]। त्वरितं च तस्माद् देशाद् आगतः[१७]।

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[1]Div. °*yatha*. After this paragraph, Chl adds: "Then the ministers played a trick in favour of Aśoka." [2–4]Chl "After having filled his wash-hand basin, with water reddened with the juice of lac (*lākṣā*), they left it exposed to sight. They falsely declared that Aśoka suffered from spitting of blood and was not capable of departing for the expedition. At that time, the illness of king Bindusāra increased." [3]Div. AC *makṣayitvā*. [5–6]Chl "said to the king, 'We pray to you.'" [7]Chl adds: "to direct the affairs of the kingdom". [8–9]Chl "We shall remove him (Aśoka)." [10]Chl omits this sentence. [11]Chl "Aśoka thought." [12]Div. *bandhantu*. [13]Chl adds: *rājā bhṛśaṁ ruṣitaḥ*. [14–15]Chl omits. [16]Div. °*to'bhyā*°. [16–17]Chl "came back to Pāṭaliputra."

[1]अशोकेनापि पाटलिपुत्रे नगरे एकस्मिन् द्वारे एको नग्नः[2] स्थापितः। द्वितीये द्वितीयस्तृतीये[3] राधगुप्तः पूर्वद्वारे स्वयमेव राजाऽशोकोऽवस्थितः।

[4]राधगुप्तेन च पूर्वस्मिन् द्वारे[5] यन्त्रमयो हस्ती स्थापितः। तस्योपरि[6] अशोकस्य च प्रतिमा निर्मिता[7]। परितश्च परिखां खनयित्वा [8]खदिराङ्गारैश्च पूरयित्वा तृणेनाच्छाद्य [सा] पांशुनाकीर्णा। [9]सुसीमश्चाभिहितो यदि शक्यसेऽशोकं घातयितुं राजेति[10]।

स यावत् पूर्वद्वारं गतः। [11]अशोकेन सह योत्स्यामीति। अङ्गारपूर्णायां परिखायां पतितः। तत्रैव चानयेन व्यसनमापन्नः[12]। यदा च सुसीमः प्रघातितस्[13] तस्यापि महानग्नो[14] भद्रायुधो नाम्नाऽ[15]-नेकसहस्रपरिवारः। स[16] भगवच्छासने प्रव्रजितोऽर्हन् संवृत्तः।

[17]यदाऽशोको राज्ये प्रतिष्ठितः स तैरमात्यैरवज्ञादृश्यते। तेनामात्यानां शासनार्थमभिहितं[18]। भवन्तः पुष्पवृक्षान् फलवृक्षांश्च छित्त्वा [19]कण्टकवृक्षान् परिपालयन्तु[20]। अमात्या आहुः। [21]देवेन कुत्र दृष्टं। अपि तु कण्टकवृक्षान् छित्त्वा पुष्पवृक्षाः फलवृक्षाश्च परिपालयितव्याः[22]। तैर्यावत् त्रिरपि राज्ञ आज्ञा प्रतिकलिता। ततो

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[1]Chl adds: "Aśoka having been informed of the return of Susīma, was on his guard." [2]Chl "athlet (*malla*)". [3]Chl *tṛtīyo rādhaguptaś ca*. [4–5]Chl *tatra ca*. [6]Chl reads: *tasyopari*. Div. omits. [7]Div. *pratimāṁ*, it omits the next two words which are found in Ch. [8]Chl omits *khadira*. [9]Div. °*kīrṇaḥ*. [9–10]Chl "Susīma had gone to the third gate, Rādhagupta said to him: 'Now Aśoka stands at the eastern gate, enter by that. If you succeed I shall be your servant. If you cannot subdue Aśoka, you cannot enter by this gate.'" [11–12]Chl "He rushed straight towards the elephant to seize Aśoka, but carelessly fell into the brazier and perished." [12–13]Chl omits. [14]Chl "a giant". [15]Chl " 'wise-brave' by name". Ch2 agrees with the text. [15–16]Chl "with myriads of soldiers over whom he commanded". [17–18]Chl "As the ministers disregarded Aśoka, he made a plan to chastise them. He said..." [18]Div. *amātyānām abhihitaṁ*. [19–20]Chl *lit.* "with them make enclosure for the ...". [20]Div. °*yatha*. [21–22]Chl "Till the present time we have heard people speak of enclosing the orchards with the thorny trees, but not of enclosing the thornbush with the fruit-trees." [22]Div. *puṣpavṛkṣān phalavṛkṣāṁśca ... vyā*.

राज्ञा रुषितेन [1]असिं निष्कोशं कृत्वा पञ्चानाममात्यशतानां शिरांसि छिन्नानि[2]।

यावद् राजाऽशोकोऽपरेण समयेनान्तःपुरपरिवृतो वसन्तकाले समये [3]पुष्पितफलितेषु पादपेषु पूर्वनगरस्य[4] उद्यानं गतः। तत्र च परिभ्रमताऽशोकवृक्षः[5] सुपुष्पितो दृष्टः। ततो राज्ञो ममाऽयं सहनामा इत्यनुनयो जातः। स च राजाऽशोको दुःस्पर्शगात्रः। ता[6] युवतयस्तं नेच्छन्ति स्प्रष्टुं। यावद् राजा शयितस्तस्यान्तःपुरेण रोषेण[7] तस्मादशोकवृक्षात् पुष्पाणि शाखाश्च छिन्नाः।

यावद् राज्ञा प्रतिबुद्धेन सोऽशोकवृक्षो दृष्टः। पृष्टाश्च[8] तत्रस्थाः[9] केन स छिन्नः[10]। ते कथयन्ति देवान्तःपुरिकाभिरिति। श्रुत्वा च राज्ञाऽमर्षजातेन पञ्चस्त्रीशतानि[11] किटिकैः संवेष्टय दग्धानि[12]।

तस्येमानि[13] अशुभानि आलोक्य चण्डो राजा चण्डाऽशोक इति व्यवस्थापितः।

यावद् राधगुप्तेनाग्रामात्येनाभिहितः। देव न सदृशं स्वयमेवेदृशमकार्यं कर्तुं। अपि तु देवस्य वध्यघातकाः पुरुषाः स्थापयितव्या ये देवस्य वध्यकरणीयं[14] शोधयिष्यन्ति। यावद्राज्ञा राजपुरुषाः प्रत्युक्ता वध्यघातं मे मार्गध्वमिति[15]।

1–2Chl "The five hundred ministers were put to death." 3–4Chl omits. 5Div. *vṛkṣa.* 6–7Chl "The concubines felt for him neither love nor respect. They disliked his close contact. Waiting upon him as long as he was awake, they went for a walk in the park. They saw the Aśoka-tree. *tatas tābhis.*" 8Div. °*ṣṭaś ca.* 9Div. omits. 10Div. *tac chinnaṁ.* 11Chl adds: *dhṛtāni.* 11–12Chl "They were disposed around the tree and were burnt alive." 13Div. *tasya* (or *taspa-*)*mā*°. Chl "The inhabitants of the whole kingdom proclaimed him cruel and called him, 'the cruel Aśoka (*caṇḍāśoka*)'." 14Div. °*karaṇīyāṁt.* 15Div. *mārgadhveti.* Chl reads this and the preceding sentence as: '"You should select now a cruel person so that he may execute criminals.' The king approved these words. Then he charged an envoy to search for a cruel person."

यावत् तत्र नातिदूरे[१] पर्वतपादमूले कर्वटकं[२]। तत्र[२] तन्त्रवायः प्रतिवसति। [३]तस्य पुत्रो जातः। गिरिक इति नामधेयं कृतं[४]। चण्डो दुष्टात्मा[२] मातरं पितरं च परिभाषते।

[५]दारकदारिकाश्च ताडयति। पिपीलिकान् मक्षिकान् मूषिकान् मत्स्यांश्च जालेन बडिशेन प्रघातयति। चण्डो दारकस्तस्य चण्डगिरिक इति नामधेयं कृतं।

यावद् राजपुरुषैर्दृष्टः पापे कर्मणि प्रवृत्तः। स तैरभिहितः[६]। शक्यसे राज्ञोऽशोकस्य वध्यकरणीयं कर्तुं। स आह। [७]कृत्स्नस्य जम्बुद्वीपस्य वध्यकरणीयं साधयिष्यामीति[८]।

यावद् राज्ञो निवेदितं। राज्ञाऽभिहितमानीयतामिति। [९]स च राजपुरुषैरभिहितः। आगच्छ राजा त्वामाह्वयतीति[१०]। तेनाभिहितम्। आगमयत। यावदहं मातापितरावलोकयामीति। यावन् मातापितरावुवाच। अम्ब, तातानुजानीध्वं यास्याम्यहं राज्ञोऽशोकस्य वध्यकरणीयं साधयितुं[११]। ताभ्यां च स निवारितः। तेन तौ जीविताद् व्यपरोपितौ। एवं यावद् राजपुरुषैरभिहितः। किमर्थं चिरेणाभ्यागतोऽसि। तेन[१२] चैतत् प्रकरणं विस्तरेणारोचितं।

स तैर्यावद् राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनामितः। तेन राज्ञोऽभिहितं[१३]।

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[1]Chl "in the frontier of the kingdom". [2]Chl omits. [3–4]Chl "He gave birth and brought up a son named Giri." Ch2 reads: "Girika". [5–6]Chl "With the hands he spread nets. With the feet he placed traps. He smeared with poison the herbs and the leaves and the animals who touched them all died. The inhabitants had all proclaimed him the most violent man. In the country he was called 'the cruel Girika (*caṇḍa-girika*)'. The envoy of the king went to him and said . ." [5]Div. °*kāṁś ca.* [7–8]Chl "If it were necessary to chastise the wicked people of the whole world, I would have succeeded even in that. Then could I not do this on account of Aśoka alone." [8]Div. C *sodha*°. [9–11]Chl "The latter, knowing that the envoy came back in search of him, took leave of his parents." [10]Div. °*māhūya*°. [11]Div. °*karaṇīyāṁ sā*°. [12–13]Chl "Girika said: 'My father and my mother refused (to give) their consent. I have killed them. Therefore, I have been late in coming (back).' Thereafter, he followed the envoy, saw the king and said to him..."

ममार्थाय गृहं[1] कारयस्वेति। [2]यावद् राज्ञा गृहं कारापितं[3]। परमदारुणं[4] द्वारमात्ररमणीयं। तस्य रमणीयकं बन्धनमिति संज्ञा व्यवस्थापिता। स आह। देव वरं मे प्रयच्छ। यस्तत्र प्रविशेत् तस्य न भूयो निर्गम इति। यावद् राज्ञाऽभिहितम्। एवमस्त्विति।

ततः स चण्डगिरिकः कुक्कुटारामं गतः। भिक्षुश्च बालपण्डित[5]सूत्रं पठति। [6]सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः। यावन् नरकपाला गृहीत्वाऽयोमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायाम् एकज्वालीभूतायाम् उत्तानकान् प्रतिष्ठाप्य अयोमयेन विष्कम्भणेन मुखद्वारं[7] विष्कम्भ्य अयोगुडान् आदीप्तान् प्रदीप्तान् संप्रज्वलितान् एकज्वालीभूतान् आस्ये प्रक्षिपन्ति। ये तेषां सत्त्वानाम् ओष्ठावपि दहन्ति जिह्वामपि कण्ठमपि कण्ठनाडमपि हृदयमपि हृदयसामन्तमपि अन्त्राणि अन्त्रगुणानपि दग्ध्वा अधः प्रघरन्ति। इयद्दुःखा[8] हि भिक्षवो नरकाः।

सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः। यावन् नरकपाला गृहीत्वा अयोमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायाम् एकज्वालीभूतायाम् उत्तानकान् प्रतिष्ठाप्य अयोमयेन विष्कम्भणेन मुखद्वारं विष्कम्भ्य क्वथितं ताम्रम् आस्ये प्रक्षिपन्ति। यत् तेषां सत्त्वानाम् ओष्ठौ अपि दहन्ति जिह्वामपि तालु अपि कण्ठमपि कण्ठनाडमपि अन्त्राणि अन्त्रगुणानपि दग्ध्वा अधः प्रघरन्ति। इयद्दुःखा[8] हि भिक्षवो नरकाः।

सन्ति सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः[9]। यान् नरकपाला गृहीत्वाऽयोमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीभूतायाम् अवाङ्मुखान् प्रतिष्ठाप्यायोमयेन सूत्रेण आदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेन [10]एकज्वालीभूतेन आस्फाट्य अयोमयेन कुठारेण आदीप्तेन संप्रदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेन एकज्वालीभूतेन तक्षणुवन्ति संतक्षणुवन्ति संप्रतक्षणुवन्ति अष्टांशमपि षडंशमपि चतुरस्रमपि वृत्तमपि मण्डलमपि उन्नतमपि अवनतमपि शान्तमपि विशान्तमपि तक्षणुवन्ति। इयद्दुःखा[8] हि भिक्षवो नरकाः[11]।

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[1]Ch1 "prison". [2–3]Ch1 omits. [4]Div. °*śobhanaṁ*. [5]Div. °*paṇḍitaḥ*°. Ch1 "the *sūtra* of the cruel boy (*bāla*) and stupid (*apaṇḍita*)". Ch2 "the *sūtra* of the five divine messengers (*deva-dūta*)". [6–11]Ch1 "Where it is said: (See Notes)" [7]BCDE °*dvārāṁ*. [8]Div. *iyaṁdu*°. [9]Div. °*nnāṁ*. [10]Div. °*tena naika*°.

[1]सन्ति सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः। यान् नरकपाला गृहीत्वा अयोमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीभूतायामवाङ्मुखान् प्रतिष्ठाप्यायोमयेन सूत्रेणादीप्तेन प्रदीप्तेन संप्रज्वलितेनैकज्वालीभूतेनास्फाटच्यायोमय्यां भूम्यामादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायां नैकज्वालीभूतायां तक्षणुवन्ति संतक्षणुवन्ति संपरितक्षणुवन्ति अष्टांशमपि षडंशमपि चतुरस्रमपि मण्डलमपि उन्नतमपि अवनतमपि शान्तमपि विशान्तमपि तक्षणुवन्ति। इयद्दुःखा[2] हि भिक्षवो नरकाः।

सन्ति सत्त्वा नरकेषूपपन्नाः। यान् नरकपाला गृहीत्वाऽयोमय्यां भूमावादीप्तायां प्रदीप्तायां संप्रज्वलितायामेकज्वालीभूतायामुत्तानकान् प्रतिष्ठाप्य पञ्चविध[3]बन्धनकारणां कारयन्ति। उभयोर्हस्तयोरायसौ कीलौ क्रामन्ति। उभयोः पादयोरायसौ[4] कीलौ[4] क्रामन्ति। मध्ये हृदयस्यायसं कीलं क्रामन्ति। सुदुःखा हि भिक्षवो नरकाः।

एवं पञ्च वेदना[5] इति सोऽपि[6] (चण्डगिरिकः) कुरुते। तत्सदृशाश्च कारणाः सत्त्वानामारब्धः[7] कारयितुं [सोऽपि तच्चारके][8]।

यावच्छ्रावस्त्यामन्यतमः सार्थवाहः[9] पत्न्या सह महासमुद्रमवतीर्णः[10]। तस्य सा पत्नी महासमुद्रे प्रसूता। दारको जातस्तस्य समुद्र इति नामधेयं कृतं।

यावद् विस्तरेण द्वादशभिर्वर्षैर्महासमुद्रादुत्तीर्णः। स च सार्थवाहः[11] पञ्चभिर्धूर्तशतैर्मुषितः। सार्थवाहः स प्रघातितः। स च समुद्रः सार्थवाहपुत्रो[12] भगवच्छासने प्रव्रजितः। स जनपदचारिकां चरन् पाटलिपुत्रमनुप्राप्तः।

1–8Chl "Having heard these speeches Girika said to himself: 'In my prison, I too must do thus.'" 2Div. reads: *iyaṁdu°*. 3Div. *pañca-viṣaṭa* (A °*ta*°) *bandhanāṁ*. 4Div. °*se kīle*. 5=*bandhanāḥ*. Div. *pañca deva iti*. 6Div. omits *sopi*. A *iti kurutetsadṛśāś cākāraṇāḥ*, C *iti kurute sadṛśāś cākāraṇāḥ*, D *iti kuru tatsadṛśāś cākāraṇāḥ*, E *itīkara tatsadṛśāś cākāraṇāḥ* (but corrected to *itīkatarat*), B *itī katarat sadṛśāścā- kāraṇāḥ*. 7Div. °*bdhāḥ*. 9Chl "the chief of a family". 10Chl adds: "in search of precious things". 11Chl omits. 12Chl "consequently his son Samudra".

[1]स पूर्वाह्णे निवास्य पात्रचीवरमादाय पाटलिपुत्रं पिण्डाय प्रविष्टः[2]। सोऽनभिज्ञया[3] च रमणीयकं भवनं[4] प्रविष्टः। तच्च[5] द्वारमात्ररमणीयमभ्यन्तरं नरकभवनसदृशं प्रतिभयं[6] दृष्ट्वा च पुनर्निर्गन्तुकामश्चण्डगिरिकेणावलोकितः[7]। गृहीत्वा चोक्तः। इह ते निधनमुपसंगन्तव्यमिति। [8]विस्तरेण कार्यं[9]।

ततो भिक्षुः शोकार्तो वाष्पकण्ठः[10] संवृत्तः। तेनोच्यते। किमिदं बालदारक इव रुदसीति[11]। स भिक्षुः प्राह।

न शरीरविनाशं हि भद्र[12] शोचामि सर्वशः।
[13]मोक्षधर्मान्तरायं तु शोचामि भृशमात्मनः॥
दुर्लभं प्राप्य मानुष्यं प्रव्रज्यां च सुखोदयां।
शाक्यसिंहं च शास्तारं पुनस्त्यक्ष्यामि दुर्मतिः॥

तेनोच्यते। दत्तवरोऽहं नृपतिना। धीरो भव। नास्ति ते मोक्ष इति। ततः सकरुणैर्वचनैस्तं भिक्षुः क्रमं याचति स्म। मासं यावत्। सप्तरात्रमनुज्ञातः[14]।

[15]स खलु मरणभयोद्विग्नहृदयः सप्तरात्रेण मे न भवितव्यमिति व्यायतमतिः संवृत्तः[16]।

अथ सप्तमे दिवसे[17] अशोकस्य राज्ञोऽन्तःपुरिकां[18] कुमारेण सह संरक्तां निरीक्ष्यमाणां[19] संलपन्तीं च दृष्ट्वा [15]सहदर्शनादेव[17] रुषितेन

1–2Chl omits. 3Chl adds: *nagarasya*. 4Chl "prison". 5Chl reads: "and pronounced these words: *dvāramātra*°". 6–7Chl "Then he wished to get out, but Girika did not allow him to do so." 8–9Chl "You must no more dream of going out." 10Div. °*ṇṭha-saṁ*°. 11=*rodiṣīti*. 12Div. omits. 13–14Chl "'This is for the fear of losing the benefit of my good actions; for, I left the world and have not yet witnessed the Law and the Way. A human body is difficult to attain. The Law of Buddha is difficult to meet with. It is for this I shed tears.' Girika said: 'Formerly, the king authorised me to nevermore allow (anybody) to get out of this and put to death anybody who enters into this enclosure.' The Bhikṣu said: 'Allow me to live for seven days; after that if you like to kill me, I shall consent.' Girika granted this." 15–17Chl omits. 16Div. °*mati saṁ*°. 18Div. °*kā*. 19ABCE °*kṣamā*°. Chl omits it.

राज्ञा तौ द्वावपि तं [1]चारकमनुप्रेषितौ। [2]तत्र मूशलैरयोद्रोण्यामस्थ्यवशेषौ कृतौ। ततो भिक्षुस्तौ दृष्ट्वा संविग्नः प्राह[3]।

अहो कारुणिकः शास्ता सम्यगाह महामुनिः।
फेनपिण्डोपमं रूपमसारमनवस्थितं[4]॥
क्व तद् वदनकान्तित्वं गात्रशोभा क्व सा गता।
धिगस्त्व[5]न्यायसंसारं रमन्ते यत्र बालिशाः॥
[6]इदमालम्बनं प्राप्तं चारके वसता मया।
यदाश्रित्य तरिष्यामि पारमद्य भवोदधेः[7]॥
तेन तां रजनीं कृत्स्नां युज्यता[8] बुद्धशासने[9]।
सर्वसंयोजनं छित्त्वा प्राप्तमर्हत्त्वमुत्तमं[10]॥

ततस्तस्मिन् रजनिक्षये[11] स भिक्षुश्चण्डगिरिकेणोच्यते। [12]भिक्षो निर्गता रात्रिर् उदित आदित्यः[13] कारणाकालस्तवेति। ततो भिक्षुराह। दीर्घायु[14]र्ममापि निर्गता रात्रिर् उदित आदित्यः परानुग्रहकाल इति। यथेष्टं वर्ततामिति[15]।

[16]चण्डगिरिकः प्राह। नावगच्छामि विस्तीर्यतां वचनमेतदिति[17]। ततो भिक्षुराह।

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[1]Chl adds: *ramaṇīyakaṁ*. [2–3]Chl "Girika pounded them immediately, striking the heads with a rammer, in such a way that the eye-balls burst out. At such a sight, the Bhikṣu was seized with horror and he said to himself..." [4]Chl adds: "If (*rūpa*) festers quickly, without allowing us (even) the time for breathing...". [5]BCDE °*nāyaṁ saṁsāro* (E °*re*), A *dhig astu ayaṁ saṁsāro*. Chl *aho saṁsāre'smin bāliśā ramante*. [6–7]Chl "The Holy Law is not there (in *saṁsāra*). I have been able to discriminate it in this sojourn. I will not sink in the ocean of 'being (*bhava*)'." [7]Div. *yam āśritya tariṣyāmi*°. [8]Div. *kṛtsnā yu-*. [8–9]Chl "passed in contemplation". [9–10]Chl "He broke all the bonds so that he could realise the Fruit of *srotāpatti* and constantly through his efforts towards perfection.... he attained to Arhathood." [11]Chl "seven days having passsed". [12–13]Chl "Seven days have passsed. The eighth day is going to dawn." [14]Chl omits it. [15]Chl *lit.* "Force me to die, if you wish." [16–17]Chl "Girika asked, 'What do you mean by that: My night is past, my Sun has arisen, the hour of the supreme success is come.'"

[1]ममापि हृदयाद् घोरा निर्गता मोहशर्वरी।
पञ्चावरणसंच्छन्ना क्लेशतस्करसेविता ।।
उदितो ज्ञानसूर्यश्च मनोनभसि मे शुभः।
प्रभया यस्य पश्यामि त्रैलोक्यमिह तत्त्वतः ।।
परानुग्रहकालो मे शास्तुर्वृत्तानुवर्तिनः ।
इदं शरीरं दीर्घायुर्यथेष्टं क्रियतामिति[२] ।।

ततस्तेन निर्घृणेन दारुणहृदयेन परलोकनिरपेक्षेण रोषाविष्टेन[३] बहूदकायां स्थाल्यां नररुधिरवसामूत्रपुरीषसंकुलायां महालोह्यां प्रक्षिप्तः। प्रभूतेन्धनैश्चाग्निः प्रज्वालितः। स च बहुनापीन्धनक्षयेण न संतप्यते। ततः[४] पुनः[५] प्रज्वालयितुं चेष्टते[५]। यदा तस्यापि न प्रज्वलति[६] ततो विचार्य तां लोहीं[७] पश्यति। तं भिक्षुं [८]पद्मस्योपरि पर्यङ्केणोपविष्टं दृष्ट्वा च ततो[९] राज्ञे निवेदयामास[१०]। अथ राजनि समागते[११] प्राणिसहस्रेषु संनिपतितेषु स भिक्षुर्वैनेयकालमवेक्षमाणः

[1–2]Chl "I was in the dark night of ignorance. I have completely destroyed for ever, the rebels which were bonds (*saṁyojana*). That is what signifies 'my night is past.' My spirit cleansed by wisdom (*prajñā*) sees the three worlds clearly. That is what signifies 'my sun has arisen.' Behold, I have completely realized that which Buddha has done. That is what signifies 'the hour of supreme success is come.' May you live long and chastise me as you like." [2]Div. *idaṁ śarīradīrghāyur*. [2–3]Chl *lit.* "Girika, by his cruelty, tortured the innocents. As he did not believe in the life beyond death, his anger became double." [3]Div. °*pekṣaṇaroṣā*°. [5]Div. omits. [6]CD °*lita*. [4–7]Chl "Thereafter, Girika was angry with those who had lighted the fire and struck them with a stick. He lighted the fire again with his own hand. The fuels without heating further were entirely consumed. Besides, he put fire to the pieces of wood-work, the thatch (?) and the woolen stuff in abundance; he burnt them entirely, but the water remained cold as before. He asked himself in astonishment, why it was so, and looked into the vessel." [8]Chl adds: *sahasradala*. [9]Chl adds: *bhītabhīto*. [10]Chl adds: "The king came and in order to enter inside got the wall demolished. All the inhabitants followed the king; and they gazed at the Bhikṣu, by thousand, by *koṭi*, by myriads." [10–11]Chl omits.

[1]ऋद्धिं समुत्पाद्य स तन्मुहूर्तं लोह्यन्तरस्थः सलिलाद्रगात्रः।
निरीक्षमाणस्य जनस्य मध्ये नभस्तलं हंस इवोत्पपात[2]॥
विचित्राणि च प्रातिहार्याणि[3] दर्शयितुमारब्धः। वक्ष्यति[4] हि।
अर्धेन[4] गात्रेण ववर्ष तोयमर्धेन[5] जज्वाल हुताशनश्च।
[6]वर्षञ्ज्वलंश्चैव[7] रराज यः खे [8]दीप्तौषधिप्रस्रवणेव शैलः[8]॥
तमुद्गतं व्योम्नि निशाम्य राजा कृताञ्जलिर्विस्मयफुल्लवक्त्रः।
उद्वीक्षमाणस् [9]तमुवाच धीरं कौतुहलात् किंचिदहं विवक्षुः[10]॥
मनुष्यतुल्यं तव[11] सौम्य[11] रूपमृद्धिप्रभावस्तु नरानतीत्य।
न निश्चयं तेन विभो व्रजामि को नाम भावस्तव शुद्धभाव[12]॥
तत् साम्प्रतं ब्रूहि ममेदमर्थं यथा प्रजानामि तव प्रभावं।
ज्ञात्वा च ते धर्मगुणप्रभावान् यथाबलं शिष्यवदाचरेम[13]॥

ततो भिक्षुः प्रवचनपरिग्राहकोऽयं भविष्यति भगवद्धातुं च विस्तरीकरिष्यति[14] महाजनहितार्थं च प्रतिपत्स्यत इति मत्वा स्वगुणमुद्भावयं[15]स्तम् उवाच।

अहं महाकारुणिकस्य राजन् प्रहीणसर्वास्रवबन्धनस्य।
बुद्धस्य पुत्रो वदतां वरस्य धर्मान्वयः सर्वभवेष्वसक्तः[16]॥

[1–2]Chl "The Bhikṣu went out of the vessel without a stain on his dress. In the immense crowd there was none who did not see him. He soared into the sky and . . . .". [3]Div. *prāṇihā°*. [4]Chl *pūrvārdhena gātreṇa*. [5]Chl *uttarā°*. [6–7]Chl omits. [8]Chl "like a great glittering mountain". [9–10]Chl "He spoke these words." [11]Chl *asya bhikṣoḥ*. [12]Div. *°bhāvaḥ*. [12–13]Chl reads these three lines: "He has soared into the sky and manifested a great supernatural power! I have not yet understood, but I aspire after the good prediction. Could I know the holy things which you share; I would make efforts for those according to my strength and capacity." [14]Div. *°starīṁ kari°*. [15]Div. *°bhāvayantam*. [13–16]Chl "At that moment the Bhikṣu recognised that king Aśoka was a great *dānapati*, who shall certainly have the power of distributing the relics of Buddha for the benefit of gods and human beings. (The Bhikṣu spoke thus) Buddha has said: 'I am the great compassionate one who breaks bonds. Those who are the sons of Buddha according to the Law, in the three catagories of existence, obtain deliverance.'"

दान्तेन दान्तः पुरुषर्षभेन[1] शान्तिं गतेनापि शमं प्रणीतः[2] ।
मुक्तेन संसारमहाभयेभ्यो निर्मोक्षितोऽहं भवबन्धनेभ्यः[3] ।।

अपि च महाराज त्वं भगवता व्याकृतः । वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य[4] मम पाटलिपुत्रे नगरेऽशोको नाम राजा भविष्यति । चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती धर्मराजो यो मे शरीरधातून्[5] वैस्तारिकान् करिष्यति । चतुरशीति[6]-धर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति । इदं च देवेन नरकसदृशं स्थानमेव स्थापितं यत्र प्राणिसहस्राणि निपात्यन्ते । तदर्हसि देव सर्वसत्त्वेभ्योऽभयप्रदानं दातुं भगवतश्च[7] मनोरथं परिपूरयितुम् । आह[7] च ।

तस्मान् नरेन्द्र अभयं प्रयच्छ सत्त्वेषु कारुण्यपुरोजवेषु ।
नाथस्य संपूर्य मनोरथं च वैस्तारिकान् धर्मधरान् कुरुष्व[8] ।।

अथ स राजा बुद्धे समुपजातप्रसादः कृतकरसंपुटस्तं[9] भिक्षुं क्षमयन्नुवाच ।

दशबलसुत क्षन्तुमर्हसीमं[10] कुकृतमिदं च तवाद्य देशयामि ।
शरणमृषिमुपैमि तं च बुद्धं गणवरमार्यनिवेदितं च धर्मं ।।

अपि[11] च ।

करोमि चैष व्यवसायमद्य[12] तद्गौरवात् तत्प्रवणप्रसादात् ।
गां मण्डयिष्यामि जिनेन्द्रचैत्यैर्हंसांशुशङ्खेन्दुबलाककल्पैः[13] ।।

यावत् स भिक्षुस्तदैव[14] ऋद्धया प्रक्रान्तः । अथ राजाऽरब्धो निष्क्रामितुं । ततश्चण्डगिरिकः कृताञ्जलिर्[15] उवाच । देव लब्धवरोऽहं नैकस्य विनिर्गम इति । राजाऽह । मा[15] तावन्[15] । [16]मामपीच्छसि घातयितुं ।

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[1]Chl reads: *dāntās te dāntena.* [2]Chl *praṇītāḥ.* [3]Chl reads this line as: *muktena nirmokṣitāḥ.* [4]Div. °*vṛttasya.* [5]Div. °*tuṁ vaistārikāṁ.* [6]Div. °*tiṁ dharmarājikāṁ sa*°. [7]Chl "You should also realise thoroughly the intentions of Buddha." [7–8]Chl "Security (*abhaya*) is to be given, compassion is to be produced, relics are to be distributed, true relief is to be poured out, among human beings and Śakra-devendra." [8]Div. °*kāṁ dharmadharāṁ ku*°. [9–10]Chl "He held in reverence the *daśabalasuta* and pronounced these words: 'My past actions are extremely sinful.'" [11–13]Chl "I must begin to live a pious life and adorn the earth (with relics)." [12]Div. °*madya taṁ taṁ gaura*°. [13]Div. °*haṁsāṁśa-śaṅkhendu*°. [14]Div. °*deva.* Chl "At that moment the Bhikṣu went away by the air-way." [15]Chl omits it. [16]Div. *mamāpi*°.

स उवाच। एवमेव।

राजाऽह। कोऽस्माकं प्रथमतरं प्रविष्टः।

चण्डगिरिक उवाच। अहं।

ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं। [१]कोऽत्रेति।

यावद् वध्यघातैर्गृहीतः। गृहीत्वा च यन्त्रगृहं प्रवेशितः। प्रवेशयित्वा दग्धः[२]। तच्च रमणीयकं बन्धनमपनीतं। सर्वसत्त्वेभ्यश्चाभयप्रदानमनुप्रदत्तं॥

ततो राजा [३]भगवच्छरीरधातुं विस्तरिष्यामीति चतुरङ्गेण बलकायेन[४] गत्वाऽजातशत्रुप्रतिष्ठापितं [५]द्रोणस्तूपमुत्पाट्य[६] शरीरधातुं गृहीतवान्। यत्र [७]उद्धारणं च विस्तरेण कृत्वा धातुप्रत्यंशं दत्त्वा[८] स्तूपं प्रत्यस्थापयत्[९]। एवं द्वितीयं [१०]स्तूपं विस्तरेण। भक्तिमतो यावत् सप्तद्रोणाद् ग्रहाय स्तूपांश्च प्रतिष्ठाप्य[११] रामग्रामं गतः[१२]।

[१३]ततो राजा नागैर्नागभवनमवतारितः। विज्ञप्तश्च[१४]। वयमस्य [शरीरधातोः] अत्रैव पूजां करिष्याम इति। यावद् राज्ञाभ्यनुज्ञातं।

ततो नागराजेन[१५] पुनरपि नागभवनादुत्तारितः। वक्ष्यति हि।

रामग्रामेऽस्ति[१६] त्वष्टमं स्तूपमद्य
नागास्तत्कालं भक्तिमन्तो ररक्षुः।
[१७]धातूनेतस्मान् नोपलेभे स राजा
श्रद्धालू[१८] राजा यस्त्वक्रृत्वा जगाम[१९]॥

[1–2]Chl reads: "'As you have entered first, you must undergo (submit to) punishment.' Then the king ordered his people to arrest Girika and lead him to the 'torture-hall' ('hall of glue'; Ch2 'house of lac') to burn him alive." [3–4]Chl simply *rājagṛhaṁ*. [5–6]Chl "four *sheng* (litre or pint)". [6]Div. °*pāṭyā*. [7–8]Chl "a big". [9]Div. *pratiṣṭhāpya*. [10–11]Chl *dvitīyāt tṛtīyād vistareṇa yāvat saptamāt sarvaṁ* (*śarīra-dhātuṁ*) *gṛhītavān*. [12]Chl adds: "the abode of Nāgarāja Sāgara, with an intention to take the relics." [14]AC *vijñaptiś ca*. [15]Div. °*rājā*. [16]Div. omits it. [17]Div. *dhātūnye*°. [18]Div. °*bhū*. Div. adds: *cintayati* after *rājā*. [19]ABD *yastvaṁ tatkṛtvā*°, C *yastvatatkṛtvā*°. [13–19]Chl reads: "Then the Nāgarāja appeared and invited the king to enter into his palace. The king descended from his boat and entered into the palace of the Nāgarāja. The

¹यावद् राजा चतुरशीतिकरण्डसहस्रं कारयित्वा सौवर्णरूप्य-स्फटिकवैदूर्यमयाणां तेषु धातवः प्रक्षिप्ताः। एवं विस्तरेण चतुर-

Nāga said to the king, 'Allow me to make offerings to these (relics), and do not take them away from me.' The king having seen that the Nāgarāja presented them (relics) offerings two times more weighty than those of human beings, abstained from taking the relics and left them behind." Ch2 reads: "The king having made a plan to construct the *stūpas* of Buddha, in grand style, assembled the *caturaṅga* army and went to the *stūpa* named Droṇa erected by king Ajātaśatru. Having reached there he demolished the *stūpa* with the help of his men and took the relics of Buddha. Similarly, he demolished (other) *stūpas*, successively (one by one) up to the seventh. He took all the relics. Then he went to the village called Rāma. In that village he found a *stūpa* which was erected before all the others. This too the king wished to destroy and take the relics. But there was a Nāgarāja who made Aśoka enter his palace of Nāga and said to him, 'This is the *stūpa* to which I bring my offerings; may the king allow it to stand.' The king consented and the Nāgarāja guided the king to the village of Rāma. Then the king said to himself: 'This *stūpa* is (erected) the first of all, and so the Nāgarāja redoubles his zeal to guard it. I will not obtain relics from this *stūpa*.' Thinking thus, he returned to his kingdom."

¹Chl reads: "Returning to his palace, the king made 84 thousand precious caskets. He decorated them with gold, silver, and *vaidūrya* (cat's-eye gem). In each precious casket, he enclosed one relic. Besides, he made 84 thousand pitchers (*kumbha*) and 84 thousand silken bands (*paṭṭa*) of various colours to cover them. He gave each relic to a *yakṣa* for the full extent of Jambudvīpa, to construct a *stūpa* in each country inhabited by a population of one crore. Thereupon the spirits carried all the relics and departed towards the four directions, to construct the *stūpas*. A *yakṣa* who had received one relic arrived at the kingdom of Takṣaśilā where he wished to erect a *stūpa*.

"The inhabitants of the kingdom said, 'The population of our kingdom is 36 crores in total... You must give us 36 caskets.' Then the *yakṣa* and the spirits went back to inform the king of what had happened. The king said to himself: 'The people are greatly numerous. If we proceed in this way, the relics will not be sufficient for all Jambudvīpa. I must find out a means to discontinue the distribution.'

"Then he ordered the *yakṣa* to go back to tell the people: '35 crores of people in your kingdom are going to be annihilated. Only one crore of them will remain to whom we shall give one relic.'

शीतिकुम्भसहस्रं पट्टसहस्रं च यक्षाणां हस्ते दत्त्वा विसर्जितम्। आसमुद्रायां पृथिव्यां हीनोत्कृष्टमध्यमेषु नगरेषु यत्र कोटिः परिपूर्यते तत्र धर्मराजिका[1] प्रतिष्ठापयितव्या[2]।

तस्मिन् समये तक्षशिलायां षट्त्रिंशत् कोट्यः। तैरभिहितं। षट्त्रिंशत् करण्डकाननुप्रयच्छेति। राजा चिन्तयति। न यदि वैस्तारिका धातवो भविष्यन्ति। उपायज्ञो राजा। तेनाभिहितं। पञ्चत्रिंशत् कोट्यः शोधयितव्याः। विस्तरेण यावद् राज्ञा[3]ऽभिहितं। यत्राधिकतरा भवन्ति यत्र च [4]न्यूनतरा तत्र न दातव्यं[5]।

[6]यावद् राजा कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा स्थविरयशसमभिगम्य[7] उवाच। अयं मे मनोरथः। एकस्मिन् दिवसे एकस्मिन् मूहूर्ते चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयेयमिति। स्थविरेणाभिहितम्। एवमस्तु[8]। अहं तस्मिन् समये पाणिना सूर्यमण्डलं प्रतिच्छादयिष्यामीति[9]।

"The inhabitants of the kingdom said, "We shall prefer to dispense with the 36 caskets. One alone will give us satisfaction. Do not put us to death.' Then it was done as they desired. They were given only one casket."

Ch2 reads: "(The king) said: 'There are three kinds of kingdoms: the small, the middle and the big. If a kingdom pour out one crore ounces of gold, a royal *stūpa* is to be erected there.' Now, the kingdom of Takṣaśilā poured out 36 crore ounces of gold. The inhabitants of that kingdom said to king Aśoka, 'O king, you must give us thirty-six boxes.' Hearing this the king reflected thus: 'I wish that the *stūpas* of Buddha be erected everywhere in a magnificent way. Is it proper that this kingdom should heap up *stūpas* in such a great number ?'

"Then the king had recourse to a simple procedure. He said to the people, 'We are going to confiscate 35 crore ounces of gold from you.' And he added: 'Henceforth, that a kingdom may have much of *stūpas* or it may have less, I order, in no case one should offer me gold (in order to obtain them in greater number).'"

[1]Div. reads: °*kāṁ*. [2]Div. °*vyaṁ*. [3]Div. reads: *rājā*. [4]Div. *bhūna*°. [5]Ch read the above passage. [6]Chl adds: "having uttered these words". [7]Chl adds: *kṛtāñjalir*. [7–8]Chl reads: '"I wish to construct now 84 thousand precious *stūpas* in Jambudvīpa.' The Sthavira replied, 'That's good, that's good. O king, if you wish to have power to construct (all) the *stūpas*, at the same time....'" [9]Chl adds: "Let the order be given all over the king-

[1] यावत् तस्मिन् दिवसे[2] स्थविरयशसा पाणिना सूर्यमण्डलं प्रतिच्छादितं। एकस्मिन्[3] दिवसे[3] एकमुहूर्ते[3] चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं। वक्ष्यति[4] च।

ताभ्यः सप्तभ्यः पूर्विकाभ्यः कृतिभ्यो
धातुं तस्यर्षेः स ह्युपादाय मौर्यः[5]।
चक्रे स्तूपानां शारदाभ्रप्रभाणां[6]
लोके साशीति ह्यह्नि चातुःसहस्रं[7]॥

यावच्च राज्ञाऽशोकेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं धार्मिको धर्मराजा[8] संवृत्तस्तस्य धर्माशोक इति संज्ञा जाता। वक्ष्यति च।

[9]आर्यो मौर्यश्रीः स प्रजानां हितार्थं
कृत्स्ने[10] स्तूपान् यः कारयामास लोके[11]।
चण्डाशोकत्वं प्राप्य पूर्वं पृथिव्यां
धर्माशोकत्वं कर्मणा तेन लेभे[12]॥

[13]पांशुप्रदानावदानं षड्विंशतिमं[14]।

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dom, that when I shall cover the sun with my hand, at the same moment all be engaged with the construction of the *stūpas*."

[1–2]Chl "afterwards". [3]Chl *jambudvīpe ekasmin samaye*. [5]ABC °*ryaṁ*. [6]Div. *śāradabhra*°. [7]Div. °*śīti sāsad ahnā sahasram*. [8]=*rājaḥ*. [9]Div. *ārya*°. [10]Div. °*tsnaṁ*. [11]Div. reads: *stūpān kārayāmāsa lokaś*. [4–12]Chl reads: "When they were constructed entirely, the whole population gave the king the name of 'Dharmāśoka (Aśoka of the Right Law)'. He could spread over the world peace and prosperity. He erected *stūpaṣ* and temples all over the territories of the kingdom. The good could prosper. His name as 'cruel (Caṇḍāśoka)' disappeared and the whole world called him 'the king of the Right Law (Dharmāśoka)'." [13]D adds *iti śrīdivyāvadāne*. [14]D omits. AB °*timaḥ*. C *ṣaṭtriṁśatimaḥ*.

वीतशोकावदानं

यदा राज्ञाऽशोकेन भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतिलब्धा तेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं। पञ्चवार्षिकं च कृतं। त्रीणि शतसहस्राणि भिक्षूणां भोजितानि। यत्रैकम्[१] अर्हतां द्वे[२] शैक्षाणां पृथग्जनकल्याणकानां च। [३]आसमुद्रायां पृथिव्यां जनकाया यद्भूयसा भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसन्ना:[४]।

तस्य[५] भ्राता वीतशोको[६] नाम तीर्थ्याभिप्रसन्न:। स तीर्थ्यैर्विग्राहित:[७], नास्ति श्रमणशाक्यपुत्रीयाणां मोक्ष इति[८]। एते हि सुखाभिरता: परिखेदभीरवश्चेति।

यावद्राज्ञाशोकेनोच्यते। वीतशोक मा त्वं[९] हीनायतने प्रसादमुत्पादय। अपि तु बुद्धधर्मसङ्घे प्रसादमुत्पादय। एष आयतनगत: प्रसाद इति।

अथ राजाऽशोकोऽपरेण समयेन[१०] मृगवधाय निर्गत:। तत्र [११]वीतशोकेनाऽरण्ये [१२]ऋषिर्दृष्ट:। पञ्चातपेनावस्थित:। स च कष्टतप:सारसंज्ञी। [१३]तेनाऽभिगम्य पादाभिवन्दनं कृत्वा स ऋषि: पृष्ट:। भगवन् कियच्चिरं ते इहारण्ये प्रतिवसत:[१४]। स उवाच। द्वादशवर्षाणीति। वीतशोक: कथयति। कस्तवाहार:। ऋषिरुवाच। फलमूलानि। किं प्रावरणं। दर्भचीवराणि। का शय्या। तृणसंस्तर:[१५]। वीतशोक उवाच। भगवन् किं दु:खं बाधते[१६]। ऋषिरुवाच। इमे

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[1]M8 °*kārha*°. Div. °*ko'rha*°. [2]M8 & Div. read: *dvau*. [3]M8 & Div. omit *ā*. [4]Chl omits this paragraph. [5]Chl "the younger brother of king Aśoka". [6]M8 & Div. °*konāmā*. Chl reads the name as: *hsü tā to*. Sudatta ? Ch2 *vīta*°. [7]Chl adds: "and mocked at the Law of Buddha. He uttered these words." [8]Chl adds: "King Aśoka spoke to Sudatta, 'What do you know of them ?' Suddatta replied, 'Because'....". [9]Div. *tvam anā*°. [10]Chl adds: *sudattena saha*. [11]Chl *tābhyām*. [12]Chl "Brāhmaṇa". [13] Chl adds: "Sudatta expressed a sentiment of faith and respect." [14]Chl *lit. tapasyataḥ*. [15]M8 & Div. °*ram*. [16]Chl "What is the most painful (act) of all that you do now ?"

मृगा ऋतुकाले संवसन्ति। यदा मृगाणां संवासो दृष्टो भवति तस्मिन् समये रागेण परिदह्यामि।

वीतशोक उवाच। अस्य कष्टेन तपसा [वर्तमानस्य] रागोऽद्यापि बाधते[1] प्रागेव। श्रमणाः शाक्यपुत्रीयाः स्वास्तीर्णासनशयनोपसेविनः। कुत एषां रागप्रहाणं भविष्यति। आह च[2]।

कष्टेऽस्मिन् विजने वने निवसता[3] वाय्वम्बुमूलाशिना[4]
रागो नैव जितो यदीह ऋषिणा कालप्रकर्षेण हि।
भुक्त्वान्नं सघृतं प्रभूतपिशितं दध्युत्तमालङ्कृतं
शाक्येष्विन्द्रियनिग्रहो यदि भवेद् विन्ध्यः प्लवेत् सागरे[5] ॥

सर्वथा वञ्चितो राजाऽशोको यच्छ्रमणेषु शाक्यपुत्रीयेषु कारां करोति।

एतच्च वचनं श्रुत्वा राजा उपायज्ञो[6]ऽमात्यान् उवाच। अयं वीतशोकस्तीर्थ्याभिप्रसन्नः[7]। उपायेन भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसादयितव्यः[8]।

अमात्या आहुः। देव किमाज्ञापयसि[9]। राजाऽह। यदा[10]ऽहं राजालङ्कारं मौलि[11]पट्टं चापनयित्वा स्नानशालां[12] प्रविष्टो भवामि, तदा यूयं वीतशोकस्य उपायेन मौलि[13]-पट्टं च बद्ध्वा [एनं] सिंहासने निषादयिष्यथ। एवमस्त्विति[14]।

यावद् राजा राजालङ्कारं मौलि[11]पट्टं चापनयित्वा[15] स्नानशालायां प्रविष्टः[16]। ततोऽमात्यैर्वीतशोक उच्यते। राज्ञोऽशोकस्यात्ययात्

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[1]M8 & Div. read: *bādhyate* (A °*dhate*). Chl omits this sentence. [1–2]Chl omits. [3]M8 & Div. °*tāṁ*. [4]M8 & Div. °*nāṁ*. [5]Chl reads: "You cover your body with wretched garments; you nourish yourself with poor nourishment and still you have lust! The Śākyaputra Śramaṇas who cover the body with beautiful dresses and nourish it with good food, how can they be free from lust?" [6]Chl omits. [7]Chl omits this sentence. [8]Chl adds: *mokṣaś ca prāpayitavyaḥ*. [9]Chl "We shall do what the king orders." [10]M8 & Div. *yathā*°. [11]Div. °*liṁ*. [12]Div. AB *snānaśānaśā*°. [13]M8 & Div. °*liṁ*. [9–14]Chl omits. [15]Chl adds: "He redressed himself with a bath-costume." [16]Chl adds: "and bathed."

त्वं राजा भविष्यसि । इमं तावद्राजालङ्कारं[1] प्रवरमौलि[2]-पट्टं च बद्ध्वा[3] [त्वां] सिंहासने निषादयिष्यामः[4] । किं शोभसे न वेऽति ।

[स] तैस्तदाभरणं[5] मौलि[2]पट्टं च बद्ध्वा सिंहासने निषादितः । राज्ञश्चं निवेदितं[6] ।

[7]ततो राजाऽशोको वीतशोकं राजालङ्कार[8]मौलिपट्टबद्धं[9] च सिंहासनोपविष्टं दृष्ट्वा कथयति । अद्याप्यहं जीवामि, त्वं राजा संवृत्तः । ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं । कोऽत्र ।

ततो[10] यावद् वध्यघातका नीलाम्बरवासिनः[11] प्रलम्बकेशा घण्टाशब्दपाणयो राज्ञः पादयोर्निपत्योचुः[12] । देव किमाज्ञापयसि ।

राजाऽह ।

वीतशोको मया परित्यक्त[13] इति ।

यावद् वीतशोक उच्यते । [14]सशस्त्रैर्वध्यघातैरस्माभिः परिवृतोऽसीति । ततोऽमात्या राज्ञः[15] पादयोर्निपत्य[16] ऊचुः । देव[17] मर्षय वीतशोकं । देवस्यैष भ्राता[18] ।

ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं । सप्ताहमस्य मर्षयामि[19] । भ्राता चैष मम । भ्रातुः स्नेहादस्य[20] सप्ताहं राज्यं प्रयच्छामि[21] ।

यावत् तूर्यशतानि संप्रवादितानि[22] । जयशब्दैश्चानन्दितं । प्राणिशतसहस्रैश्चाञ्जलिः कृतः[23] । स्त्रीशतैश्च परिवृतः ।

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[1]Chl omits *alaṁ*°. [2]Div. °*liṁ*. [3]Chl *badhnīhi*. [4]M8 & Div. °*ṣīda*°. [3–4]Chl omits. [5]M8 & Div. °*ṇamau*°. [5–6]Chl "Sudatta followed their advice and being thus decorated, he sat on the royal throne." [7]Chl adds: "The king came out of the bath-room." [8]M8 °*raṁ maulipaṭṭaṁ*°. Div. °*raṁ*°. [9]Chl omits this compound. [10–12]Chl "Then there appeared the Caṇḍālas holding swords in one hand and bells in the other. They approached the king and asked...." [11]M8 °*vāsināḥ*. Div. °*vāsanāḥ*. [13]Chl adds: "I give him to you to punish." M8 *vītaśoka mayā*°. [14]M8 omits *sa*. Chl omits this and the preceding sentence. [15–16]Chl omits. [17–18]Chl "Sudatta is king's own brother. Be pleased to allow him to repent and correct his faults." [19]Chl "I comply with your opinions." [19–20] Chl omits. [20]M8 *bhrātāsnehāmayād asya*. [21]Chl adds: "Then he will be put to death." [22]Div. C *saṁpraco*°. [22–23]Chl "During these seven days, he was entertained with a hundred thousand tunes of music. A hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas praised him with folded hands." After this it reads: *strīśatasahasraiś ca*°.

[1]वध्यघातकाश्च द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति। दिवसे गते वीतशोकस्याग्रतः स्थित्वा आरोचयन्ति[2]। निर्गतं वीतशोक एकं दिवसं। षडहान्यवशिष्टानि[3]। एवं[4] द्वितीये दिवसे। विस्तरेण यावत्[5] सप्ताहदिवसे[6] वीतशोको राजालङ्कारविभूषितो[7] राज्ञोऽशोकस्य समीपमुपनीतः।

ततो राज्ञाऽशोकेनाभिहितं। वीतशोक कच्चित् सुगीतं सुनृत्यं सुवादितमिति[8]। वीतशोक उवाच। न मे[9] दृष्टं वा स्याच्छ्रुतं वेति। आह च।

येन श्रुतं भवेद् गीतं नृत्यं चापि निरीक्षितं।
रसाश्चास्वादिता येन स ब्रूयात् तव निर्णयं[10]॥

[11]राजाऽह। वीतशोक इदं मया राज्यं सप्ताहं तव दत्तं। तर्यशतानि संप्रवादितानि। जयशब्दैश्चानन्दितं। अञ्जलिशतानि प्रगृहीतानि। स्त्रीशतैश्च परिचीर्णः। कथं त्वं[12] कथयसि नैव मे[13] दृष्टं न श्रुतमिति[14]। वीतशोक उवाच।

न मे दृष्टं नृत्यं न च नृप श्रुतो गीतनिनदः[15]
न मे गन्धा घ्राता न च[16] खलु रसा मेऽद्य विदिताः।
न[17] मे स्पृष्टः स्पर्शः कनकमणिहाराङ्गजनितः
समूहो नारीणां मरणपरिबद्धेन मनसा॥
स्त्रियो नृत्यं गीतं भवनशयनान्यासनविधिः
वयो रूपं लक्ष्मीर्बहुविविधरत्ना च वसुधा।
निरानन्दा शून्या मम तु[18] वरशय्या गतसुखा
स्थितान् दृष्ट्वा द्वारे वधकपुरुषान् नीलवसनान्[19]॥

1–2Chl "Four Caṇḍālas, with hands stained with blood, with an appearance expressing a will to kill anybody, stood at the threshold of the four doors and shouted..." 3Chl adds: "We shall tear your body, separate your limbs, cut off your life. Your end is approaching." 4M8 & Div. *eke*. 5Chl "They did so on the first day and then up to the seventh day they cried thus." 6Chl "When the seventh day passed." 7Chl omits. 8Chl "During these seven days, had you not been extremely happy?" 8–10Chl omits. 9Div. AC *yena*. BD *me na*. M8 *yena*. 11–14Chl omits. 12M8 omits. 13M8 *naivam eva*. 15M8 & Div. *ninādaḥ*. 16M8 & Div. omit it. 17M8 *nṛpa*. 18–19Chl reads: "Why?

श्रुत्वा घण्टारवं घोरं नीलाम्बरधरस्य हि।
भयं मे मरणाज्जातं पार्थिवेन्द्र सुदारुणं[1] ।।
मृत्युशल्यपरीतोऽहं नाश्रौषं[2] गीतमुत्तमं।
नाद्राक्षं नृपते नृत्यं न च भोक्तुं मनःस्पृहा ।।
मृत्युज्वरगृहीतस्य न मे स्वप्नोऽपि विद्यते।
कृत्स्ना मे रजनी याता[3] मृत्युमेवानुचिन्ततः[4] ।।

राजाऽह। वीतशोक। मा तावत्। तवैकजन्मिकस्य मरणभयात् तव राजश्रियं प्राप्य हर्षो नोत्पन्नः। किं पुनर्भिक्षवो ये[5] जन्मशतमरणभयभीताः सर्वाण्युपपत्त्यायतनानि दुःखान्यनुसृतानि पश्यन्ति[6]। नरके तावच्छरीरसंतापकृतमग्निदाहदुःखं च [7]तिर्यक्षवन्योन्यभक्षणपरित्रासदुःखं, प्रेतेषु क्षुत्तर्षदुःखं। [8]पर्येष्टिसमुदाचारदुःखं[9] मनुष्येषु। च्यवनपतनभ्रंशदुःखं देवेषु। एभिः पञ्चभि[10]र्दुःखैस्त्रैलोक्यमनुषक्तं[11], शारीरमानसैर्दुःखैरुत्पीडिता वधकभूतान् स्कन्धान् पश्यन्ति। शून्यग्रामभूतान्यायतनानि, चौरभूतानि विषयाणि कृत्स्नं च त्रैधातुकमनित्याग्निना प्रदीप्तं पश्यन्ति। [12]तेषां रागः कथमुत्पद्यते। आह च।

[13]तावदेकजन्मिकस्य मरणभयात्तव न जायते हर्षः।
मनसि विषयैर्मनोज्ञैः सततं खलु पच्यमानस्य ।।
किं पुनर्जन्मशतानां मरणभयमनागतं विचिन्तयतां।
मनसि भविष्यति हर्षो भिक्षूणां भोजनाद्येषु[14] ।।

Because I have seen the Caṇḍālas brandishing swords crying, 'One day you reign; and six days remain for you.' Everyday they spoke thus, till the seventh day."

[1]Chl omits this *śloka*. [2]M8 & Div. °*ṣīd*. Chl omits this *śloka*. [3]M8 & Div. *jātā*. [4]M8 & Div. °*cintayan*. Chl adds : "What then was my happiness ?" [5]M8 & Div. omit *ye*. [5–6]Chl reads : "They contemplate on the ills that afflict us—birth, old age, disease, and death." [7]M8 *tiryagyo*[*nāva*]*nyony*°. [8–9]Chl "eight kinds of ills". [10]Chl omits. [11]M8 & Div. *anuśaktaṁ*. M8 *śarīra*°. [12–14]Chl reads : "All is impermanent, suffering, void and without any personality (*anityaṁ*, *duḥkhaṁ*, *śūnyaṁ*, *anātmaṁ*). Then, can you say that the Śākya° Śramaṇas are incapable of practising austerity and attaining deliverance ?" [13]Div. & M8 add *mā*.

तेषां न[1] वस्त्रशयनासनभोजनादि[2] मोक्षेऽभियुक्तमनसां जनयेत[3] सङ्गं ।
पश्यन्ति ये वधकशत्रुनिभं शरीरमादीप्तवेश्मसदृशांश्च भवाननित्यान्[4] ।।
कथं च तेषां न भवेद् विमोक्षो मोक्षार्थिनां[5] जन्मपराङ्मुखाणां ।
येषां मनः सर्वसुखाश्रयेषु व्यावर्तते पद्मदलादिवाम्भः[6] ।।

यदा वीतशोको राज्ञाऽशोकेनोपायेन भगवच्छासनेऽभिप्रसादितः[7] स कृतकरपुट उवाच । देव[8] एषोऽहं तं भगवन्तं तथागतमर्हन्तं सम्यक्संबुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि । धर्मं च भिक्षुसङ्घं चेति । आह च[8] ।

एष व्रजामि शरणं विबुद्धनवकमलविमलनिभनेत्रं ।
बुधविबुधमनुजमहितं जिनं[9] विरागं[10] सङ्घं चेति ।।

अथ राजाऽशोको वीतशोकं कण्ठे परिष्वज्योवाच । न[11] त्वं मया परित्यक्तः । अपि तु[12] बुद्धशासनाभि[13]प्रसादार्थं तव मया एष उपायः प्रदर्शितः[14] ।

ततो वीतशोको गन्धपुष्पमाल्यादिवादित्रसमुदयेन[15] भगवतश्चैत्यानर्चयति[16] । सद्धर्मं च शृणोति । सङ्घे च कारां कुरुते ।

स [17]कुक्कुटारामं गतः । तत्र यशो नाम स्थविरः अर्हन्[18] षडभिज्ञः[18] । स तस्य पुरतो निषण्णो धर्मश्रवणाय । स्थविरश्च तमवलोकयितुमारब्धः[19] ।

[20]स पश्यति वीतशोकमुपचितहेतुकं चरमभविकं तेनैवाश्रयेनार्हत्त्वं[21] प्राप्तव्यं । तेन तस्य प्रव्रज्याया वर्णो भाषितः । तस्य श्रुत्वा

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[1]M8 reads *nu*. Div. *tu*. [2]M8 & Div. AC °*nādyā*. [3]Div. AB °*yeva*, C °*ye ca*, D °*ye*. M8 °*yet*. [4]Chl omits this *śloka*. [5]Chl *bhoga-vimukhānāṁ*. M8 *kathaṁ ca teṣāṁ ca bhaved*°. [6]Chl "The mind of the Śramaṇa is not polluted by the objects of pleasure, just as water does not get attached to lotus flower [leaf?]." [7]Chl "King Aśoka instructed Sudatta in every way." [8]Chl reads simply: "Great king, now I take refuge in the *triratna* (the Three Jewels)." [9]Div. & M8 *jina*. [10]Div. & M8 add: *ca*. [11–12]Chl omits. [13]M8 & Div. ABC °*sanād abhi*°. [14]Chl adds: "Certainly I will not put you to death." [15]Chl *gandha-puṣpābhyāṁ*. [16]Div. *ārca*°. [17]M8 & Div. *kurkuṭ*°. [18]Chl omits. [19]Chl omits this sentence. [20]Chl adds: "Then Yaśaḥ contemplated on the former existences of Sudatta." [21]Chl *nirvāṇaṁ*.

स्पृहा[1] जाता[1]। प्रव्रजेयं भगवच्छासने। तत उत्थाय कृताञ्जलिः स्थविरमुवाच। लभेयमहं[2] स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये प्रव्रज्यामुपसंपदं भिक्षुभावं चरेयमहं भवतो[3]ऽन्तिके ब्रह्मचर्यं। स्थविर उवाच। वत्स। राजानमशोकमनुज्ञापयस्वेति।

[4]ततो वीतशोको येन राजाऽशोकस्तेनोपसंक्रम्य कृताञ्जलिरुवाच। देव अनुजानीहि मां। प्रव्रजिष्यामि स्वाख्याते धर्मविनये सम्यगेव श्रद्धयाऽगारादनागारिकां। आह च[5]।

उद्भ्रान्तोऽस्मि निरंकुशो गज इव व्यावर्तितो[6] विभ्रमात्[6]
त्वद्बुद्धिप्रभवांकुशेन विधिवद् बुद्धोपदेशैर्[7] अहं।
एकं[8] त्वर्हसि मे वरं प्रवरितुं[9] त्वं पार्थिवानां पते
लोकालोकवरस्य शासनवरे लिङ्गं शुभं धारये[10]॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा साश्रुकण्ठो[11] वीतशोकं[12] कण्ठे[12] परिष्वज्योवाच। वीतशोक। अलमनेन व्यवसायेन। प्रव्रज्या खलु वैवर्णिकाभ्युपगता[13], वासः पांशुकूलं।

प्रावरणं[14] परिजनोज्झितम्। आहारो भैक्षं परकुले[15]। शयनासनं[16] वृक्षमूले तृणसंस्तरः पर्णसंस्तरः। व्याबाधे खल्वपि[17] भैषज्यमसुलभं। पूतिमुक्तं[18] च भोजनं[19]। त्वं च सुकुमारः शीतोष्णक्षुत्पिपासानां दुःखानामसहिष्णुः। प्रसीद निवर्तय मानसं।

वीतशोक उवाच। देव।

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[1]Chl reads: "transported with joy". [2]Div. & M8 *labheyāhaṁ*°. [3]M8 *bhagavato*. [4–5]Chl "Then Sudatta went to tell the king, 'Great king, permit me to leave the world.'" [6]Chl "I have been made submissive and docile." [7]Chl omits it. [8]Div. *ekaṁ* (D *evaṁ*) *tvam*°, M8 *ekatvam*°. [9]Div. & M8 *pradarśituṁ*. [10]M8 & Div. *dhārayet*. [8–10]Chl "Condescend to express your great compassion by permitting me to embrace the religious life where the Great light (*ālokavara*) is glittering." [11]M8 *kaṇthe*. [12]M8 omits. [13]Chl "to live in the same manner as the people of low rank". [14]Chl omits. [14–15]Chl "For nourishment, one has to beg for the remains of food (eaten by somebody)." [16]M8 *śayyā*° (indistinct). Div. *cchānāsanaṁ*. [17–19]Chl "to take care of oneself with repulsive medicine". [18]M8 & Div. *dhūti*°.

नैवाहं तन्न जाने न[1] विषयतृषितो नायासविहृतः
प्रव्रज्यां प्राप्तुकामो न रिपुहृतबलो[2] नैवार्थकृपणः।
दुःखार्तं मृत्युनेष्टं व्यसनपरिगतं दृष्ट्वा जगदिदं
पन्थानं जन्मभीरुः शिवमभयमहं [3]गन्तुव्यवसितः॥

श्रुत्वा राजाशोकः सशब्दं[4] प्ररुदितुमारब्धः। अथ वीतशोको राजानमनुनयन्नुवाच। देव[5]।

संसारदोलामभिरुह्य लोलां यदा निपातो नियतः प्रजानां[6]।
किमर्थमागच्छति विक्रिया ते सर्वेण सर्वस्य यदा वियोगः॥

राजाऽह। वीतशोक। भैक्षे तावदभ्यासः क्रियतां। राजकुले वृक्षवाटिकायां तस्य तृणसंस्तरः संस्तृतः। भोजनं[7] चास्य दत्तं। सोऽन्तःपुरं पर्यटति महार्हं चाहारं [8]लभते।

[9]ततो राज्ञाऽन्तःपुरिकाभिहिता। प्रव्रजितसारूप्यमस्याहारमनुप्रयच्छेति। तेन यावदभिदूषिता[10] पूतिकमाषा लब्धाः[11]। तांश्च

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[1]M8 reads: *naivāhaṁ jāne taṁ nūnaṁ*. Div. A *naiva hi jāne tam anunaṁ*, B *naivāha jāneta manunaṁ*, C omits *naiva*, it reads *hi jāne tam nunam*, D °*hi jāne tam anūnam*. [2]Div. AB °*hatabalo*. [3]M8 & Div. *gantuṁ*. Chl "Now I aspire to leave this world. This is not because I am disgusted with royal dignity, nor because I disdain the fortune that one enjoys among the *devas*, nor because one is afflicted by the multitude of ills till the state of Non-being (*niḥsattva*), nor because I contempt the riches and the treasure, nor because I am afraid of passions which are our rebellious enemies. It is because I dread the ills of birth, old age, disease and death that I aspire to leave this world. It is to attain Nirvāṇa that I aspire to leave this world !" [4]M8 & Div. *satvaraṁ*. The Chinese reading is adopted here. [5]Chl "Sudatta said, 'You should not grieve.'" [6]Chl "The wheel of transmigration revolves without stop." [7]Chl *daṇḍaḥ pātraṁ cā*°. [8]M8 & Div. add *na* which is not found in Chinese. [9–11]Chl "The king accused the concubines, saying, 'Why do you give him this excellent nourishment ? Give him gross and wretched food, so that he may be accustomed to it.' They obeyed and gave him gross and wretched food." [10]M8 *yāvad dūṣita*. Div. BC *pūtikulamāṣā*. D *dhūti*°. A *vūti*°. [11]Div. *labdhā tāṁ ca*. M8 too reads the same.

परिभोक्तुमारब्धः[१]। दृष्ट्वा राज्ञाऽशोकेन निवारितः[२]। अनुज्ञातश्च प्रव्रज[३], किन्तु प्रव्रजित्वा उपदर्शयिष्यसि।

स यावत् कुक्कुटारामं[४] गतः। तस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। यदि इह प्रव्रजिष्यामि आकीर्णो भविष्यामि। ततो विदेहेषु[५] जनपदेषु गत्वा प्रव्रजितः[६]। ततस्तेन युज्यता[७] यावदर्हत्त्वं प्राप्तं।

अथायुष्मतो वीतशोकस्य अर्हत्त्वं[८] प्राप्तस्य विमुक्तिप्रीतिसुखसंवेदिन[९] एतदभवत्। [१०]अस्ति खलु मे [द्रष्टुकामो भ्राता। ततः पाटलिपुत्राय प्रस्थितः।] पूर्वं[११] राज्ञोऽशोकस्य गृहद्वारमनुप्राप्तः। ततो दौवारिकमुवाच। गच्छ [१२]राज्ञोऽशोकस्य निवेदय[१३] वीतशोको द्वारि[१२] तिष्ठति[१३] देवं द्रष्टुकाम इति।

ततो दौवारिको राजानमशोकमभिगम्योवाच। देव, दिष्टया[१४] वृद्धि[१५]र्वीतशोकोऽभ्यागतो द्वारि तिष्ठति देवं द्रष्टुकामः। ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं। गच्छ शीघ्रं प्रवेशयेति।

यावद् वीतशोको राजकुलं प्रविष्टः। दृष्ट्वा च राजाशोकः सिंहासनादुत्थाय मूलनिकृत्त[१६] इव द्रुमः सर्वशरीरेण [भूमौ निपतितः। ततः स] आयुष्मन्तं वीतशोकं निरीक्षमाणः[१७] प्ररुदन्नुवाच।

भूतेषु[१८] संसर्गगतेषु नित्यं दृष्ट्वापि मां नैति यथा विकारं।
विवेकवेगाधिगतस्य शङ्के प्रज्ञारसस्यातिरसस्य तृप्तः[१८]॥

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[1]Chl reads: "Then he ate them without any change in his manners." [2]Chl omits this word. [3]M8 °*vrā*°. [4]M8 & Div. *kurku*°. [5]Chl translated Videha for *videśa* (*ta fang*). Ch2 same as the text. [6]Chl adds: "and learned the Way." [7]Chl "and having practised with perfect attention". [8–9]Chl omits. [10–11]Chl " 'Formerly, king Aśoka made the following request: 'When you will leave the world, you must come to see me (*pravrajitvā upadarśayisyasi*).' Now, I must go and see him.' Then, before midday, he got up, took his bowl and went to the town of Pāṭaliputra. Gradually, begging his food....". [12–13]Chl omits. [14]M8 & Div. *dṛṣṭvā*. [14–15]Chl omits. [15]Div. & M8 °*ddhi vī*°. [16]M8 & Div. °*nikṛnta*. [16–17]Chl reads: "With five parts of his body, he touched the ground and prostrated himself before Sud (Suda°). When he got up, he joined his hands and looked at Sudatta." [17]Div. °*kṣya*°. [18]Chl "Reunion is a joy to all kinds of living creatures. Now, I look at your eyes and do not find there any expression of

[1]अथ राज्ञोऽशोकस्य राधगुप्तो नामाग्रामात्यः। स[2] पश्यत्यायुष्मतो वीतशोकस्य पांशुकूलं च चीवरं मृन्मयं पात्रं [3]यावदन्नभक्षं लूहप्रणीतं। दृष्ट्वा च राज्ञः पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिरुवाच। देव[4] यथायमल्पेच्छः सन्तुष्टश्च नियतमयं कृतकरणीयो भविष्यति। [5]प्रीतिरुत्पाद्येत[6]। कुतः।

भैक्षान्नभोजनं यस्य पांशुकूलं च चीवरं।
निवासो वृक्षमूलं च तस्य ह्यनियतं[7] कथं॥
निरास्रवं यस्य मनो विशालं निरामयं चोपचितं शरीरं।
स्वच्छन्दतो[8] जीवितसाधनं च नित्योत्सवं तस्य मनुष्यलोके॥

श्रुत्वा ततो राजा प्रीतमना उवाच[9]।

अपहाय मौर्यवंशं मगधपुरं सर्वरत्ननिचयं च।
दृष्ट्वा वंशनिवहं[10] [नु] प्रहीणमदमानमोह[11]सारम्भं॥
अत्युद्धतमिव मन्ये यशसा पूतं पुरमिव गेहं[12] च।
प्रतिपद्यतां त्वया [वै] दशबलधरशासनमुदारं[13]॥

अथ राजाऽशोकः सर्वाङ्गेण[14] परिगृह्य प्रज्ञप्त[15] एवासने[16] निषादयामास। प्रणीतेन चाहारेण स्वहस्तं सन्तर्पयति। भुक्तवन्तं[17]

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tenderness. There is no doubt that you have obtained the Supreme Fruit; the ambrosia fills your heart."

1–2Chl reads: "Rādhagupta". 3–4Chl "Calmly, he begged his food and received all that is excellent as well as wretched. He (Rādha°) went towards the king and recited this *gāthā*: 'Everyone who sees Sudatta is filled with joy.'" 5–6Chl "And that is why he can rejoice." 6M8 & Div. *utpādayata*. 7M8 & Div. *tasyāni*°. 8M8 °*ndo(dā) ji*°. 6–9Chl omits. 10M8 °*hanaṁ*. 11M8 & Div. °*haṁ sā*°. 12Div. A *mehaṁ*, rest & M8 *mahaṁ*. 13M8 & Div. *udāre*. Chl reads: "He has renounced the royal succession, the city of Pāṭaliputra, riches and treasures as well as fortune and glory, as one allows to drop a drop of tear or a spittle. He has trampled with his feet his saintly race. Detached for ever from all riches, he has consecrated the royal lineage and made it attain a great glory." 14–15Chl omits. 16Chl *siṁhāsane*. 17Chl "When the meal was taken, pure water was served. He (Aśoka) took a low seat and sat before him (Sudatta), and asked him to preach the Law. Then Sudatta recited for him (the king) the following *gāthā*:"

विदित्वा धौतहस्तमपनीत[1]पात्रमायुष्मतो वीतशोकस्य पुरतो निषण्णो धर्मश्रवणाय।

अथायुष्मान् वीतशोको राजानमशोकं धर्म्यया कथया संदर्शयन्नुवाच[2]।

अप्रमादेन[3] सम्पाद्य राजैश्वर्यं प्रवर्ततां[4]।
दुर्लभ[5]त्रीणि रत्नानि नित्यं पूजय पार्थिव ॥

स यावद् धर्म्यया कथया संप्रहर्षयित्वा[6] संप्रस्थित:[7]। अथ राजाऽशोक: कृतकरपुट: पञ्चभिरमात्यशतै: परिवृतोऽनेकैश्च पौरजन[8]सहस्रै: परिवृत: पुरस्कृत आयुष्मन्तं वीतशोकमनु[9]व्रजितुमारब्ध:। वक्ष्यति[10] हि।

भ्राता ज्येष्ठेन राज्ञा तु गौरवेणानुगम्यते।
प्रव्रज्याया: खलु श्लाघ्यं[11] संदृष्टिकमिदं फलं[12] ॥

तत[13] आयुष्मान् वीतशोक: स्वगुणानुद्भावयन् पश्यत: सर्वजनकायस्य ऋद्धया वैहायसमुत्पत्य प्रक्रान्त:। अथ राजाऽशोक: कृतकरपुट: प्राणिशतसहस्रै: परिवृत: पुरस्कृतो गगनतलावसक्तदृष्टिरायुष्मन्तं वीतशोकं निरीक्षमाण[14] उवाच[15]।

स्वजनस्नेहनि:सङ्गो विहङ्ग इव गच्छसि।
श्रीरागनिगडैर्बद्धानस्मान् प्रत्यादिशन्निव[16] ॥

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[1]M8 & Div. read: °*nīya*. [1–2]Chl: *cf.* above. [3]M8 & BCD *apramādyena*, A *apramodyena*. M8 *saṁvādya*. [3–4]Chl "The royal dignity is noble and venerable. Do not neglect (the duty)." [5]Div. & M8 *durlabhā*. [6]Div. & M8 *saṁhar*°. [7]Chl "Having recited this *gāthā*, he got up from the throne." [8]Div. °*janapada*°. [9]M8 °*nupravra*°. [10]Chl omits this. [10–12]Chl "So glorified for having realized the Fruit of Śramaṇa, Sudatta reflected thus: 'Formerly, my elder brother converted me by various means and made me enter into the Law of Buddha. Now, I must see that his faith and respect be increased.'" [11]Div. & M8 *ślāghyasaṁ*°. [13–15]Chl "Then he soared into the sky and worked all sorts of marvels. King Aśoka with the multitude of his ministers, raised his hands and recited these *gāthās*:" [14]M8 & Div. °*kṣya*°. [15]M8 adds: *āha ca*. [16]Chl reads this line and the following as: "I am bound

आत्मायत्तस्य शान्तस्य मनःसंकेतचारिणः।
ध्यानस्य फलमेतच्च रागान्धैर्यन् न दृश्यते ।।

[१]अपि च[२]।

ऋद्ध्या खल्ववभर्त्सिता:[३] परमया श्रीगर्विताास्ते वयं
बुद्ध्या खल्वपि नामिताः शिरसिता:[४] प्रज्ञाभिमानोदया:[५]।
प्राप्तार्थेन फलान्धबुद्धिमनसः [६]संवेजितास्ते वयं
संक्षेपेण सबाष्पदुर्दिनमुखाः स्थाने विमुक्ता वयं[७] ।।

तत्रायुष्मान् वीतशोकः प्रत्यन्तिकेषु[८] जनपदेषु शय्याशनाय[९] निर्गतः। [१०]तस्य च महाव्याधिरुत्पन्नः[११]। श्रुत्वा च राज्ञाऽशोकेन भैषज्यमुपस्थायकाश्च[१२] विसर्जिताः[१३]। तस्य तेन व्याधिना स्पृष्टस्य शिरः खुस्तमभवत्[१४]। यदा च व्याधिर्निर्गतस्तस्य[१५] विरूढानि शिरसि रोमाणि[१६]। तेन वैद्योपस्थायकाश्च[१७] विसर्जिताः। [१८]तस्य च गोरसः[१९] प्राय आहारोनुसेव्यते। स घोषं गत्वा भैक्षं पर्यटति[२०]।

तस्मिंश्च समये पुण्डवर्धननगरे निर्ग्रन्थोपासकेन बुद्धप्रतिमा निर्ग्रन्थस्य पादयोर्निपतिता चित्रार्पिता[२१]। उपासकेनाशोकस्य राज्ञो निवेदितं[२२]। श्रुत्वा च राज्ञाऽभिहितं शीघ्रमानीयतां[२३]।

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by bonds of royal dignity. I extend my influence and affection over the things of this world. By disregard and by contempt for his ego, he is liberated by his own power. He has tasted the Fruit as he has achieved mastery over himself."

[1–2]Chl omits. [3]M8 & Div. read: °*bhatsitāḥ*. [4]M8 & Div. °*sitā pra*°. [5]M8 & Div. °*dayam*. [6]M8 *sarvaji*°. [2–7]Chl reads: "Here by *ṛddhi* (*lit.* by taking your flight) you have destroyed my pride. Although my wisdom and power be weak, manage it so that I may attain detachment." [8]Div. °*meṣu*. [9]M8 °*sanān*. Div. AB *śayyasanā*, CD *śayyāsanā*. Chl omits this. [10]Chl adds: "and having arrived at a foreign kingdom". [11]Div. *mahān vyādhi*°. Chl adds: "and the hair of his head fell." [12]Div & M8 *upasthāyi*°. Chl "one doctor". [13]Chl adds: "who carried (with him) medicines, went to his place and attended him (Sudatta)." [14]Div. A *khastam*°. Chl omits this sentence. [15–16]Chl reads: "His hair shot out again as before." [17]Chl omits *upa*°. [18]Chl adds: "Henceforth". [19]Chl "fermented milk". M8 & Div. °*rasāḥ . . . rānusevate*. [20]Chl "In order to procure it (milk) easily, he went to the jungle and lived near by the shepherds." [21]Div. ABC *citrāpitā*. [22–23]Chl reads: "The disciples of the heretic Nirgrantha have etc. etc."

¹तस्योर्ध्वं योजनं यक्षाः शृण्वन्ति। अधो योजनं नागाः। यावत्तं तत्क्षणेन यक्षैरुपनीतं। दृष्ट्वा च राज्ञा रुषितेनाभिहितं। पुण्डवर्धने सर्वे आजीविकाः प्रघातयितव्याः। यावदेकदिवसेऽष्टादश-सहस्राणि आजीविकानां प्रघातितानि¹।

ततः पाटलिपुत्रे भूयोऽन्येन निर्ग्रन्थोपासकेन बुद्धप्रतिमा निर्ग्रन्थस्य पादयोर्निपतिता चित्रार्पिता। ²श्रुत्वा च राज्ञाऽमर्षितेन स निर्ग्रन्थो-पासकः सबन्धुवर्गो गृहं प्रवेशयित्वाऽग्निना दग्धः। आज्ञप्तं³ च यो मे निर्ग्रन्थस्य शिरो दास्यति तस्य दीनारं⁴ दास्यामि। इति घोषितं।

स चायुष्मान् वीतशोक आभीरस्य गृहे रात्रिवासमुपगतः⁵। तस्य च व्याधिना⁶ क्लिष्टस्य⁶ लूहानि चीवराणि दीर्घकेशनख⁶श्मश्रु⁶। ⁷आभीर्या बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना निर्ग्रन्थोऽयमस्माकं गृहे रात्रिवासमुपगतः⁵। स्वामिनमुवाच। आर्यपुत्र सम्पन्नोऽयमस्माकं दीनारः। इमं निर्ग्रन्थं प्रघातयित्वा शिरो राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनामयेयमिति⁸।

ततः स आभीरोऽसिं निष्कोषं कृत्वा⁹ आयुष्मन्तं वीतशोकमभि-गतः। ¹⁰आयुष्मता च वीतशोकेन पूर्वान्तं ज्ञानं क्षिप्तं। पश्यति स्वयंकृतानां कर्मणां फलमिदमुपस्थितं। ततः कर्मप्रतिशरणो भूत्वा-ऽवस्थितः। तेन तथाऽस्याभीरेण शिरश्छिन्नं¹¹। राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनीतं। दीनारं प्रयच्छेति।

[1]Ch1 continues: "Hearing this news, the king got angry and sent off the *yakṣas* to the distance of forty *li* (*i.e.* one *yojana*) in the air and the *nāgas* to the distance of forty *li* beneath the earth. They put to death . . . in the town of Pāṭaliputra(?) (for Puṇḍavardhana)." Ch2 reads: "Puṇḍa°". [2]Ch1 adds: "Then the *upāsakas* informed this to the king." [3]M8 & Div. ABC *ājñāptaṁ*. [4]Ch1 "pieces of gold". Ch2 "a piece of gold". [5]Div. & M8 °*triṁ vāsa*°. Ch1 "Sudatta received hospitality in the house of a Nirgrantha." [6]Ch1 omits. Div. °*nakha-śmaśruḥ*. [7–8]Ch1 omits these sentences. [8–9]Ch1 reads: "His appearance was similar to that of a *nirgrantha-putra*. One demon holding a sword . .". [10–11]Ch1 "Sudatta said to himself: 'For having passed the night here, I must be put to death by this demon.' Then the demon, believing that he was a *nirgrantha-putra*, cut off also his head." Ch2 reads in accordance with the text. [10]Div. & M8 *pūrvānte jñānaṁ*.

दृष्ट्वा च राज्ञाऽशोकेन न परिज्ञातं।[1] विरलानि चास्य शिरसि रोमाणि न व्यक्तिमुपगच्छन्ति। ततो वैद्या उपस्थायका[2] आनीताः। तैर्दृष्ट्वाभिहितं। देव[3] वीतशोकस्यैत् शिरः। [4]श्रुत्वा राजा[5] मूर्च्छितो भूमौ पतितः। यावज् [6]जलसेकं दत्त्वा स्थापितः[7]। अमात्यैश्चाभिहितं। [8]देव वीतरागाणामपि अत्र पीडा जाता। दीयतां सर्वसत्त्वेष्वभयप्रदानं[9]।

यावद्राज्ञाऽभयप्रदानं दत्तं, न भूयः कश्चित् प्रघातयितव्यः[10]।

ततो भिक्षवः संशयजाताः सर्वसंशयच्छेत्तारम्[11] आयुष्मन्तमुपगुप्तं पृच्छन्ति। किं कर्म कृतमायुष्मता वीतशोकेन यस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन शस्त्रेण प्रघातितः[12]। स्थविर उवाच। तेन ह्यायुष्मन्तः कर्माणि कृतानि पूर्वमन्यासु जातिषु। श्रूयतां[13]।

भूतपूर्वं भिक्षवोऽतीतेऽध्वनि अन्यतमो लुब्धो मृगान्[14] प्रघातयित्वा जीविकां कल्पयति। अटव्यामुदपानं। स तत्र लुब्धो गत्वा पाशान् यन्त्रांश्च स्थापयित्वा मृगान् प्रघातयति[15]।

असति बुद्धानामुत्पादे प्रत्येकबुद्धा लोके उत्पद्यन्ते। विस्तरः[16]। अन्यतरः प्रत्येकबुद्धस् [17]तस्मिन्नुदपाने आहारकृत्यं कृत्वोदपानादुत्तीर्य[18] वृक्षमूले पर्यङ्केण[19] निषण्णः। [20]तस्य गन्धेन मृगास्तस्मिन्नुदपाने

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[1]Chl, Div. & M8 °*kena parijñātaṁ*. [1–3]Chl omits. [2]B °*yikā*. [4]Chl adds: "He learnt further from one of his ministers that the (supposed, so-called) Śramaṇa heretics were put to death in multitude; while in fact, they (the heretics) were only a few. The king was deeply aggrieved." [4–5]Chl "with heaped up sorrows". [6]Chl adds: *mukhe*. [7]Chl "After a long time, he regained consciousness." [8–10]Chl " 'Actually numerous are the Śramaṇas who are put to death in error. O king, grant safety to the Śramaṇas.' Then the king proclaimed an edict in the following terms: 'Henceforth, not any more Śramaṇa will be allowed to be put to death.' " [9]M8 *abhayadānaṁ*. [11]Chl omits this word. [12]Chl "Why was Sudatta put to death by a demon ?" [13]Chl "If you want to know, listen with attention." M8 *bhūtapūrvam a[tī]te*. [14–15]Chl *udapānasamīpaṁ pāśān sthāpayati*. [15–16]Chl omits. [17–18]Chl *piṇḍāya caritvā pāśasamīpaṁ*. [19]Chl omits this word. M8 °*ṅka(ke)*°. [20]Chl "The hunter could not catch any deer. He said to himself: 'Why these deer which are so numerous

नाभ्यागताः। स लुब्ध आगत्य पश्यति नैव मृगा उदपानमभ्यागताः। पदानुसारेण च तं प्रत्येकबुद्धमभिगतः। दृष्ट्वा चास्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। अनेनैष आदीनव उत्पादितः[१]। तेनासिं निष्कोषं कृत्वा स प्रत्येकबुद्धः प्रघातितः।

[२]किं मन्यध्वे आयुष्मन्तः[३]। योऽसौ लुब्धः स एष वीतशोकः। यत्रानेन[२] मृगाः प्रघातितास् तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन महान् व्याधिरुत्पन्नः[३]।

यत्प्रत्येकबुद्धः शस्त्रेण प्रघातितस्तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन बहूनि वर्षसहस्राणि[४] नरकेषु दुःखमनुभूय [५]पञ्चजन्मशतानि मनुष्येषूपपन्नः[६] शस्त्रेण प्रघातितः[७]। तत्कर्मविशेषेणैतर्हि अर्हत्त्वप्राप्तोऽपि शस्त्रेण प्रघातितः[८]।

किं कर्म कृतं येन उच्चकुले[९] उपपन्नः[१०]। अर्हत्त्वं च प्राप्तं।

स्थविर उवाच। काश्यपे सम्यक्सम्बुद्धे प्रव्रजितः[११]। अभूत् प्रदानरुचिः। तेन दायकदानपतयः सङ्घभक्ताः[१२] कारापिताः। तर्पणानि यवागूपानानि निमन्त्रणकानि[१३] [कारापितानि] स्तूपेषु च छत्राण्यवरोपितानि[१४]। ध्वजपताकागन्धमाल्यपुष्पवादित्रसमुदयेन पूजाः कृताः[१५]। तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्चकुल उपपन्नः[१६]। यावद् दशवर्षसहस्राणि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरित्वा[१७] सम्यक् प्रणिधानं कृतं[१८]। तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनार्हत्त्वं प्राप्तमिति।

इति श्रीदिव्यावदाने[१९] वीतशोकावदानमष्टाविंशतितमं[२०]।

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do not come to my nets?' Then he looked in all directions and saw the Pratyeka Buddha seated under a tree near the nets."
[1]Chl: *cf.* above. [2–3]Chl omits. [4]Chl reads: *kalpakoṭiśo*°. [5–6]Chl "at last he found the Way". [7]Chl adds: "by this demon (*yakṣena*)". [7–8]Chl omits. [8]M8 & Div. *arhatprāpto*°. [9–10]Chl omits. [11]Chl reads *saṅghe* for *pravra*°. M8 *abhūt prādā*°. [12]Div. & M8 °*bhaktām*. [13]Div. *mantraṇakāni*. M8 *yavāgupā nim*°. [14]Div. & M8 *chatrāvaropitāni dhvajāḥ patākā*°. [12–15]Chl omits these sentences. [16]Chl adds: *tadā ca sa śraddhayā pravrajitaḥ*. [17–18]Chl *acarat*. [19]Div. ABC omit. M8 °*dānamālāyāṁ*. [20]Div. °*timam*. D °*maḥ*. M8 *ekonaviṁśati*.

कुनालावदानं

यशोऽमात्योपाख्यानं

[1]स इदानीमचिरजातप्रसादो बुद्धशासने यत्र शाक्यपुत्रीयान् ददर्श, आकीर्णे रहसि वा तत्र शिरसा पादयोर्निपत्य वन्दते स्म।

तस्य च यशो[2] नामामात्यः परमश्राद्धो भगवति। स तं राजानमुवाच।

देव नार्हसि सर्ववर्णप्रव्रजितानां प्रणिपातं कर्तुं। सन्ति हि शाक्यश्रामणेरकाश्चतुर्भ्यो वर्णेभ्यः प्रव्रजिता इति। तस्य राजा न किंचिदवोचद्।

अथ स राजा केनचित् कालान्तरेण सर्वसचिवान् उवाच। विविधानां प्राणिनां शिरोभिः कार्यं। तत्त्वममुकस्य प्राणिनः शीर्षमानय त्वममुकस्येति[3]। यशोऽमात्यः[4] पुनराज्ञप्तस्त्वं मानुषं[5] शीर्षमानयेति। [6]समानीतेषु च शिरःस्वभिहिताः। गच्छतेमानि शिरांसि मूल्येन विक्रीणीध्वमिति[7]।

अथ सर्वशिरांसि विक्रीतानि। तदेव मानुषं शिरो न कश्चिज्

1–3Chl reads: "Formerly, when king Aśoka saw monks, he prostrated himself before all without any distinction of rank. Dignitaries with perverse views were astonished at what he was doing. They said: 'If an aged person with great merits is seen, one honours him by prostrating oneself. But why should a man take the trouble of honouring a young man without merit, by prostrating himself before him? The king reigns over vast Jambudvīpa. His name is holy and held in reverence. He should respect his own personality himself. Why does he humiliate his own self by prostrating himself?' This remark having been circulated came to the ear of the king. When he came to know it, he assembled all his ministers. Without being authorised to kill a living creature, each was obliged to order his men to procure a head of a particular species, be it the head of a horse or bull or of any quadrupeds (*lit.* of the hundred quadrupeds)." 2CD *yaśā*. 4Chl "the great minister Yaśaḥ". MSS. *yaśā°*. 5Chl adds: "self-murderer". 6–7Chl "Everyone of them must get these heads sold in the market."

जग्राह[1]। ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितः। [2]विनापि मूल्येन कस्मैचिद् एतच्छिरो देहीति।

न चास्य कश्चित् प्रतिग्राहको बभूव। ततो यशोऽमात्यस्तस्य शिरसः प्रतिग्राहकमनासाद्य सव्रीडो राजानमुपेत्येदमर्थमुवाच[3]।

[4]गोगर्दभोरभ्रमृगद्विजानां मूल्यैर्गृहीतानि शिरांसि पुम्भिः।
शिरस्त्विदं मानुषमप्रशस्तं न गृह्यते मूल्यमृतेऽपि राजन्॥

अथ स राजा तममात्यमुवाच। किमिदमिति। इदं मानुषशिरो न कश्चिद् गृह्णातीति।

अमात्य उवाच। जुगुप्सितत्वादिति[5]। राजाऽब्रवीत्। किमेतदेव शिरो जुगुप्सितमाहोस्वित् सर्वमानुषशिरांसीति। अमात्य उवाच। सर्वमानुषशिरांसीति।

राजाऽब्रवीत्। [6]किमिदं मदीयमपि शिरो जुगुप्सितमिति[7]। स च भयान्नेच्छति तस्माद् भूतार्थमभिधातुं। स राज्ञाऽभिहितः[8]। अमात्य सत्यमुच्यतामिति। स उवाच। एवमिति[9]।

ततः स राजा तममात्यं प्रतिज्ञायां प्रतिष्ठाप्य प्रत्यादिशन्निममर्थमुवाच। हं भो रूपैश्वर्यजनितमदविस्मित युक्तमिदं भवतः। यस्मात्त्वं भिक्षुचरणप्रणामं मां विच्छन्दयितुमिच्छसि।

विनापि मूल्यैर्विजुगुप्सितत्वात् प्रतिग्रहीता भुवि यस्य नास्ति।
शिरस्तदासाद्य ममेह पुण्यं यद्यर्जितं किं विपरीतमत्र[10]॥

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[1]Chl adds: "All the men (of the ministers) said, 'The heads taken for sale have all been sold, except the head of the human being.'" [2–3]Chl "'Why is it not sold? Among all the creatures which one is the greatest?' The ministers replied, 'Certainly, man is the greatest.' The king said, 'If man is the greatest of all, he must have great value. Why then, it remains unsold?'" [4–5]Chl "The ministers replied, 'Though honoured during his life, is there anything more contemptible than a man when he is dead? The head of a (dead) man is a thing which none likes any more to look at. So there was none to buy it.'" [6–7]Chl "If all human heads are contemptible, is not mine also?" [8]MSS. °*tam*. [9]Chl adds: "As Your Majesty has said, really there is no difference." [9–10]Chl omits.

जातिं भवान् पश्यति शाक्यभिक्षुष्वन्तर्गतांस्तेषु गुणान्न चेति[1]।
अतो भवान् जातिमदावलेपादात्मानमन्यांश्च हिनस्ति मोहात् ॥
आवाहकालेऽथ विवाहकाले जातेः परीक्षा न तु धर्मकाले।
धर्मक्रियाया हि गुणा निमित्ता गुणाश्च जातिं न विचारयन्ति ॥
यद्युच्चकुलीनगता दोषा गर्हां प्रयान्ति लोकेऽस्मिन्।
कथमिव नीचजनगता गुणा न सत्कारमर्हन्ति ॥
चित्तवशेन हि पुंसां कडेवरं निन्द्यतेऽथ सत्क्रियते।
शाक्यश्रमणमनांसि च शुद्धान्यर्चाम्यतः[2] शाक्यान् ॥
यदि गुणपरिवर्जितो द्विजातिः पतित इति प्रथितोऽपि यात्यवज्ञां।
ननु[3] निधनकुलोद्गतोऽपि जन्तुः शुभगुणयुक्त इति प्रणम्यपूज्यः ॥
अपि च।
किं ते कारुणिकस्य शाक्यवृषभस्यैतद् वचो न श्रुतं
प्राज्ञैः सारमसारकेभ्य इह यन्त्रेभ्यो[4] ग्रहीतुं क्षमं।
तस्यानन्यथवादिनो यदि च तामाज्ञां चिकीर्षाम्यहं[5]
व्याहन्तुं च भवान् यदि प्रयतते नैतत् सुहृल्लक्षणं ॥
इक्षुक्षोदवद् उज्झितो भुवि यदा कायो मम स्वप्स्यति
प्रत्युत्थाननमस्कृताञ्जलिपुटक्लेशक्रियास्वक्षमः।
कायेनाहमनेन किन्नु[6] कुशलं शक्ष्यामि कर्तुं तदा
तस्मान् न्वर्हमतः[7] श्मशाननिधनात् सारं ग्रहीतुं मया ॥

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[1]MSS. *veti*. [2]MSS. °*rcyāny ataḥ*. [3]MSS. *na tu*. [4]All the MSS. read *yantri*° except D which reads *yan bhṛtyo*. [5]MSS. °*rṣyā*°. [1–7]Chl reads this passage as: "The king said, 'If my head is not different from that one, why do you prevent me from prostrating myself? If you are a sincere friend of mine, you must exhort me to prostrate myself. Why do you laugh at me while I prostrate myself? Now when my head has some value I should prostrate myself and exchange it (head) while it is still valuable; for, afterwards it will be worth nothing. What better use could I make of it than by exchanging it for a head of higher value? Henceforth, my virtuous and intimate friends must exhort me to fall prostrate while my head still holds all its value, so that in future, I may obtain the divine body (*deva-deha*) and the sublime head of sages.'" [6]MSS. *kintu*. [7]MSS. *tasmān nārya*°.

भवनादिव प्रदीप्तान् निमज्जमानादिवाप्सु रत्ननिधेः ।
कायाद् विधाननिधनाद् ये सारं नाधिगच्छन्ति ।।
ते सारमपश्यन्तः सारासारेष्वकोविदाऽप्राज्ञाः[1] ।
ते मरणमकरवदनप्रवेशसमये विषीदन्ति ।।
दधिघृतनवनीतक्षीरतक्रोपयोगाद्
वरमपहृतसारो मण्डकुम्भोवभग्नः ।
न भवति बहुशोच्यं यद्वदेवं शरीरं
सुचरितहृतसारं[2] नैति शोकोऽन्तकाले ।।
सुचरितविमुखानां गर्वितानां यदा तु
प्रसभमिह हि मृत्युः कायकुम्भं भिनत्ति ।
दहति हृदयमेषां शोकवह्निस्तदानीं
दधिघट इव भग्ने सर्वशोऽप्राप्तसारे ।।
कर्तुं विघ्नमतो न मेऽर्हति भवान् कायप्रणामं प्रति
श्रेष्ठोऽस्मीत्यपरीक्षको हि गणयन् मोहान्धकारावृतः ।
कायं यस्तु परीक्षते दशबलव्याहारदीपैर्बुधः
नासौ पार्थिवभृत्ययोर्विस[ष]मतां कायस्य संपश्यति ।।
त्वङ्मांसाऽस्थिशिरायकृत्प्रभृतयो भावा हि तुल्या नृणां
[3]आहार्यैस्तु विभूषणैरधिकता कायस्य निष्पाद्यते[4] ।
एतत् सारमिहेष्यते तु यदिमं निश्रित्य कायाधमं
प्रत्युत्थाननमस्कृतादि कुशलं प्राज्ञैः समुत्थाप्यते ।। इति ।

राजाशोकोपाख्यानं

अथाशोको राजा हि[5] क्षोदक[5]सिकतापिण्डैरण्डकाष्ठेभ्योऽपि असारतरत्वं कायस्यावेत्य, प्रणामादिभ्यः समुत्थस्य फलस्य बहुकल्पशः स्थापयित्वा सुमेरुवन्, महापृथिवीभ्यः सारतरतामवेक्ष्य भगवतः

[1]MSS. °*vidāḥ prā*°. [2]MSS. °*sāre*. [3]ABC *ahā*°. [4]ABC *nipīḍyate* rest *niṣpīḍyate*. Chl omits this passage. [5]MSS. *hirodaka*°, *himodaka*°?

स्तूपवन्दनायाम् आत्मानमलङ्कर्तुकामो[1]ऽमात्यगणपरिवृतः कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा तत्र वृद्धान्ते स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलिर्[2] उवाच।

[3]अस्ति कश्चिदन्योऽपि निर्दिष्टः[4] सर्वदर्शिना।
यथाहं तेन निर्दिष्टः पांशुदानेन[5] धीमता॥

तत्र यशो नाम्ना सङ्घस्थविर उवाच। अस्ति महाराज। यदा[6] भगवतः परिनिर्वाणकालसमय[7]स्तदाऽपलालं नागं दमयित्वा कुम्भकारीं[8] चण्डालीं गोपालीं च नागं च मथुरामनुप्राप्तः[9]।

तत्र भगवानायुष्मन्त[10]मानन्दम् आमन्त्रयत[11]। अस्यामानन्द मथुरायां वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथागतस्य गुप्तो नाम्ना गान्धिको[12] भविष्यति। तस्य पुत्रो भविष्यत्युपगुप्तो नाम्ना [13]अववादकानामग्रः अलक्षणको बुद्धो यो मम वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यति[14]।

[15]पश्यसि त्वमानन्द दूरत[16] एव[16] नीलनीलाम्बरराजिं[17]। एवं भदन्त। एष आनन्द उरुमुण्डो नाम पर्वतोऽत्र [18]वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य तथागतस्य[19] नटभटिका नामारण्यायतनं भविष्यति। [20]एतदग्रं मे

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[1]Chl begins: "When king Aśoka had completed the construction of the *stūpas*, he was overcome with joy." [2]Chl omits it. [3]Chl adds here: "in Jambudvīpa among the numerous persons". [4]MSS. add *dvitīyaḥ*. CD *sarvadarśino*. [5]Chl omits. [7]MSS. *°ye ta°*. [8]MSS. *°kālaṁ caṇḍāligo°*. [6–9]Chl "Formerly, when Buddha reached the kingdom of Uḍḍiyana, he subdued the dragon Apapo (Ch2 Apalāla). In the kingdom of Kashmir, he converted the Brāhmaṇa (*lit.* the master Brāhmaṇa). In the kingdom of Gandhāra, he converted Caṇḍāla. In the kingdom of Gandhāra he subdued the bull (*go*) and the Nāga. Thereupon, he proceeded again to the kingdom of Mathurā." Ch2 reads the names as: Apalāla Nāgarāja, Kumbhakāra, Caṇḍāla, Nāga(rāja); it omits Gopalī. [10]AB *āyuṣmam ā°*. C *°man ā°*. D *°mān ā°*. [11]MSS. *°te*. [12]Chl *gṛhapatir*. [13–14]Chl "Although he may not have the exterior marks (on his body), he will make conversion like Buddha (*buddha-kāryaṁ*). Without entering into ecstasy he will have the power to read the thoughts of all living beings, within the distance of a *yojana*. He will be the best of all, in giving instructions in the courses of *dhyāna* (*avavādakānām agraḥ* ?)." [15]Chl adds: "And once more Buddha said to Ānanda..." [16]Chl *idānīṁ*. [17]Chl *°lāraṇyaṁ*. [18–19]Chl omits. [20]Chl "For the (construction of) buildings and for their disposition, this place

[1]आनन्द भविष्यति शमथानुकूलानां शय्यासनानां यदुत नटभटिका नामारण्यायतनम्। आह च।

अववादकानां प्रवर उपगुप्तो महायशाः।
व्याकृतो लोकनाथेन बुद्धकार्यं करिष्यति॥
राजाऽह[1]।

किं पुनः स शुद्धसत्त्व उपपन्नः। [2]अथाद्यापि नोत्पद्यत इति[2]। स्थविर उवाच। उत्पन्नः स महात्मा उरुमुण्डे पर्वते [3]जितक्लेशोऽर्हद्गणैः[4] परिवृतस्तिष्ठति [5]लोकानुकम्पार्थं। अपि च देव[6]।

सर्वज्ञलीलो हि स शुद्धसत्त्वो धर्मं[7] प्रणीतं वदते गणाग्रे[8]।
देवा[9]सुरेन्द्रोरगमानुषांश्च सहस्रशो[10] मोक्षपुरं प्रणेता॥

तेन[11] खलु समयेनायुष्मानुपगुप्तोऽष्टादशभिरर्हत्सहस्रैः परिवृतो नटभटिकारण्यायतने प्रतिवसति। श्रुत्वा च[12] राजाऽमात्यगणान् आहूय कथयति।

संनाह्यतां हस्तिरथाश्वकायः[13] शीघ्रं प्रयास्याम्युरुमुण्डशैलं।
द्रक्ष्यामि सर्वास्रव[14]विप्रमुक्तं साक्षादर्हन्तं[15] ह्युपगुप्तमार्यं[15]॥

ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितः। देव[16] दूतः प्रेषयितव्यो विषयनिवासी[17] स देवस्य[18] स्वयमेवागमिष्यति। राजाऽह। [19]नासावस्माकमर्हत्यभिगन्तुं। किन्तु वयमेवार्हामस्तस्याभिगन्तुं। अपि च[20]।

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will be the best of all. People will be able to practise *dhyāna*. These are the (two) predictions made by Buddha (regarding you). The king having heard these words said to the Sthavira..." [1]Chl: *cf.* above. [2]Chl omits. [3–4]Chl reads: *sarva-bandhanāni chittvā arhattvaṁ prāpya aṣṭādaśa-sahasra-arhad°*. [4]A °*rhad varṇaiḥ*. [5–6]Chl omits. [7–8]Chl "In favour of sages, saints, and all kinds of living creatures, he opens, by his prediction (*i.e.* prediction of Buddha regarding him), the doors of the Law (Dharma)." [9]Chl *devāṁś ca yakṣora°*. [10]Chl *amānuṣān* ("those who are not human beings"). [11–12]Chl omits. [13]Chl adds here: "as well as foot-soldiers". [14]MSS. °*śrava°*. [15]Chl "The Sthavira Upagupta and the multitude of (other) Sthaviras who have attained Deliverance." MSS. °*ptanāma*. °*ptanāthaṁ* ? [16]Chl adds: "That state is small and our soldiers are extremely numerous." [17]A *viṣaprativāsī*. [17–18]Chl: *tam āhvayitum*. [19–20]Chl "I must go to see him. Why? Becuase, I who have not yet obtained 'the mind as firm as a diamond' could not

मन्ये वज्रमयं तस्य देहं शैलोपमाधिकं।
शास्तृतुल्योपगुप्तस्य यो ह्याज्ञामाक्षिपेन् नरः[१] ॥

यावद् राज्ञा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य सकाशं[२] दूतः [३]प्रेषितः स्थविर-दर्शनाय[४] आगमिष्यामीति। स्थविरोपगुप्तश्चिन्तयति। यदि[५] राजाऽगमिष्यति महाजनकायस्य पीडा भविष्यति। गोचरस्य च। ततः स्थविरेणाभिहितं[६]। स्वयमेवागमिष्यामीति।

[७]ततो राज्ञा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्यार्थे नौयानेनागमिष्यतीति यावच्च मथुरां यावच्च पाटलिपुत्रमन्तरान् नौसङ्क्रमोऽवस्थापितः। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राज्ञोऽशोकस्य अनुग्रहार्थम्[८] अष्टादशभिरर्हत्सहस्रैः परिवृतो नावमभिरुह्य पाटलिपुत्रमनुप्राप्तः।

[९]ततो राजपुरुषै राज्ञोऽशोकस्य निवेदितं। देव दिष्टया[१०] वर्धस्व। अनुग्रहार्थं तव सोपगुप्तश्चित्तेश्वरः शासनकर्णधारः पुरस्कृतस्तीर्ण-भवौघपारैः सार्धं समभ्यागत एष पद्भ्यां[११]।

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञा प्रीतमनसा शतसहस्रमूल्यो[१२] मुक्ताहारः स्वशरीरादवनीय प्रियाख्यायिनो दत्तः। घाण्टिकं[१३] चाहूय कथयति। घुष्यन्तां पाटलिपुत्रे घण्टाः[१४]। स्थविरोपगुप्तस्यागमनं निवेद्यतां। वक्तव्यं[१५]।

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possibly humiliate this man who is similar to Buddha." [1]Chl: *cf.* above. [2]Chl reads: *niveditum*. [3]MSS. add *na*. [4]Chl adds: *jijñāsāyai ca*. [5–6]Chl "If I allow the king to come to this state which has a small territory, there will be a multitude of ills." [7–8]Chl "The Venerable having then gathered the boats made a big raft, twelve *yojanas* wide." [9–11]Chl "The king was informed that the Venerable [Upa-]Gupta had arrived personally for the benefit and service of the king and that he had the 'Great Prosperity' as the pilot of his big boat (or raft)." The passage is obscure. The reading should have been: "the (Great) Law as the pilot" instead of "the Great Prosperity as the pilot". *cf.* *śāsana-karṇa-dhāra*. Ch2 reads: "The Law of Buddha is similar to a boat. O king, it is by doing good that one can cross the sea of the three worlds positively and reach the shore of 'Non-being'." [10]MSS. *dṛṣ°*. [11]MSS. *samābhyāgata°*. [12]Chl "a necklace that is worth a hundred thousand (*śata-sahasra*) ounces of gold". [13–15]Chl "He ordered his followers to proclaim the following edict with the beating of drums." [14]MSS. *ghāṇṭām*. [15]Chl omits.

उत्सृज्य[१] दारिद्रमनर्थमूलं[१] य: स्फीतशोभां श्रियमिच्छतीह ।
[२]स्वर्गापवर्गाय च हेतुभूतं स पश्यतां कारुणिकोपगुप्तं[३] ।।
येभि[४]र्न दृष्टो द्विपदप्रधान: शास्ता महाकारुणिक: स्वयम्भू: ।
ते शास्तृकल्पं स्थविरोपगुप्तं पश्यन्त्युदारं त्रिभवप्रदीपं ।।

[५]यावद्राज्ञा पाटलिपुत्रे घण्टां[६] घोषयित्वा[६] नगरशोभां[७] च कारयित्वा[८] अर्धतृतीयानि[९] योजनानि गत्वा सर्ववाद्येन सर्वपुष्पगन्धमाल्येन[१०] सर्वपौरै: सर्वामात्यै: सह स्थविरोपगुप्तं प्रत्युद्गत: ।

ददर्श राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तं दूरत[११] एव[११] अष्टादशभिरर्हत्सहस्त्रैरर्धचन्द्रेणोपगुप्तं[१२] । यदन्तरं च राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तमद्राक्षीत्[१३] तदन्तरं हस्तिस्कन्धाद् अवतीर्य पद्भ्यां[१४] नदीतीरमभिगम्य[१५] एकं पादं नदीतीरे स्थाप्य[१६] द्वितीयं नौफलके स्थविरोपगुप्तं[१७] सर्वाङ्गेणानुपरिगृह्य नाव उत्तारितवान् । उत्तार्य च मूलनिकृत्त[१८] इव द्रुम: सर्वशरीरेणोपगुप्तस्य पादयोर्निपतितो[१९] मुखतुण्डकेन च पादावनुपरिमार्ज्य उत्थाय द्वौ[२०] जानुमण्डलौ पृथिवीतले निक्षिप्य[२१] कृताञ्जलि: स्थविरोपगुप्तं[२२] निरीक्षमाण उवाच ।

यदा[२३] मया शत्रुगणान् निहत्य[२४] प्राप्ता समुद्राभरणा सशैला[२५] ।
एकातपत्रा पृथिवी तदा[२६] मे प्रीतिर्न सा या स्थविरं[२७] निरीक्ष्य ।।

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[1]Chl omits. [2–3]Chl "'Those who wish to be born among the *devas*, wish to be liberated and (wish to) see Tathāgata, come together to make offering to Upagupta.' And he recited the following *gāthā*:" [4]Wrong reading for *yaiḥ*. Vedic & Pali influence. Chl "Creatures who wish to see the most venerable among the bipeds, the great compassionate one, the Hero, one who rose without master (*svayaṁbhū* ?) whose teaching, similar to that of Buddha, illuminates the three worlds, may all assemble here and go to meet him." [5]Chl adds: "The king having recited the *gāthā*". [6]Chl omits. [7]Chl adds: *mārgaśobhāṁ*. [8]Chl adds: *kusumapurān nirgatya*. [9]Chl *ardhayojanaṁ*. [10]Chl *sarvagandhena*. [11]Chl *āgacchantaṁ*. [12]Chl *lit. parivṛtaṁ*. [12–13]Chl omits. [14–15]Chl omits. [16]=*sthāpayitvā*. [17–19]Chl "The king received the Venerable Upagupta graciously. He prostrated himself humbly. He lay down on the earth with the five parts of his body." [18]MSS. °*nikṛnta*. [20–21]Chl omits. [22]Chl adds: *śraddhayā*. [23]Chl *idānīṁ*. [24]Chl adds: *jambudvīpaṁ jitaṁ*. [25]Chl adds: *sapattanā dhanānvitā*. [26]Chl *pūrvaṁ*. [27]Chl adds: *svacakṣuṣā*.

[1]त्वद्दर्शनान् मे द्विगुणप्रसादः संजायतेऽस्मिन् वरशासनाग्रे[2]।
[3]त्वद्दर्शनाच्चैव परोपि शुद्धो[4] दृष्टो मयाद्य अप्रतिमः[5] स्वयम्भूः[5] ॥
अपि[6] च।
शान्तिगते कारुणिके जिनेन्द्रे त्वं बुद्धकार्यं कुरुषे त्रिलोके[7]।
नष्टे[8] जगन्मोहनमीलिताक्षे त्वमर्कवज् ज्ञानवभासकर्ता[9] ॥
त्वं शास्तृकल्पो जगदेकचक्षुरववादकानां प्रवरः शरण्यं[10]।
विभो[11] ममाज्ञां वद शीघ्रमद्य कर्तास्मि वाक्यं तव शुद्धसत्त्व[11] ॥

अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो दक्षिणेन पाणिना राजानं शिरसि परिमार्जयन्नुवाच।

अप्रमादेन संपाद्य[12] राजैश्वर्यं[12] प्रवर्ततां[13]।
दुर्लभत्रीणि रत्नानि नित्यं पूजय पार्थिव ॥

अपि च महाराज[14] तेन भगवता[15] तथागतेनार्हता[15] सम्यक्सम्बुद्धेन तव च मम शासनमुपन्यस्तं सत्त्वसारथिवरेण[15] गणमध्ये[15] परीत्तं परिपाल्यं यत्नतोऽस्माभिः। राजाऽह[16]। स्थविर यथाऽहं निर्दिष्टो भगवता तदेवानुष्ठीयते। कुतः।

[17]स्तूपैर्विचित्रैर्गिरिश्रृङ्गकल्पैश्[18]
छत्रध्वजैश्चोच्छ्रितरत्नचित्रैः।
[19]संशोभिता मे पृथिवी समन्ताद्[20]
वैस्तारिका धातुधराः कृताश्च[21] ॥

1–2Chl omits. 3–4Chl reads: *yatas tvaddarśanenaiva buddho.* 4MSS. *pare'pi śuddhyā.* 5Chl omits. 6Chl "Moved by the faith and respect for the 'Three Jewels,' he recited the following *gāthā*:" 7Chl omits it. 8C *naste.* MSS. *jaganmohanimī°.* 8–9Chl "When 'the sun of wisdom' is set, O Venerable, you perpetuate the great Light." 10Chl omits this line. 11Chl omits this word. 12Chl omits. MSS. *pravartitām.* 13Chl adds: "The royal dignity and riches are difficult to preserve. Everyone must take refuge in Nirvāṇa. In this world none lives continually. (These two sentences are omitted in Ch2)" MSS. *°bhaṁ trī°.* 14MSS. *°rājā.* 15Chl omits. 16Chl "The king pronounced these *gāthās*:" 17Chl adds: "temples". 18Chl "like a forest of the mountain". 19–20Chl "in order to decorate and purify (*saṁśodhituṁ*) the vast earth to the highest degree". 21Chl adds: *jambudvīpe.*

अपि च ।

आत्मा पुत्रो[1] गृहं दारा:[2] पृथिवी कोशमेव च ।
न किञ्चिदपरित्यक्तं धर्मराजस्य शासने[3] ।।

स्थविरोपगुप्त आह । साधु साधु महाराज । एतदेवानुष्ठेयं । कुतः ।

ये [4]धर्ममुपजीवन्ति कायैर्[5] भोगैश्च जीवितैः[6] ।
गते काले न शोचन्ति इष्टं यान्ति सुरालयं ।।

यावद्[7] राजा महता[8] श्रीसमुदयेन[8] स्थविरोपगुप्तं राजकुले प्रवेशयित्वा सर्वाङ्गेणानुपरिगृह्य प्रज्ञप्त एवासने निषादयामास। स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शरीरं मृदु सुमृदु[9] । तद्यथा तूलपिशुर्वा [6]कर्पासपिशुर्वा ।

अथ राजा [10]स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य शरीरसंस्पर्शमवगम्य[11] कृताञ्जलिरुवाच ।

मृदूनि तेऽङ्गानि उदारसत्त्व तूलोपमाङ्गं काशिकोपमं च[12] ।
अहं त्वधन्यः खरकर्कशाङ्गो निःस्पर्शगात्रः परुषाश्रयश्च ।।

स्थविर उवाच ।

दानं मनापं सुशुभं प्रणीतं दत्तं मया ह्यप्रतिपुद्गलस्य ।
न पांशुदानं हि मया प्रदत्तं यथा त्वयाऽदायि तथागतस्य[13] ।।

राजाह । स्थविर ।

बालभावादहं पूर्वं क्षेत्रं[14] प्राप्य[15] ह्यनुत्तरं ।
पांशून् रोपितवांस्तत्र फलं यस्येदृशं मम ।।

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[1]MSS. °*traṁ*. [2]MSS. °*rān*. Chl adds: *prajāḥ*. [3]Chl reads: *sarvam etat parityakṣye triratnaṁ paripūjituṁ*. [4]MSS. *sāra*°. [5]MSS. °*yād*. [6]BCD °*tām*, rest °*kām*. We have corrected the text in accordance with the Chinese reading which is *lit.*: "At the cost of one's body, life, and all good things, it is meet to confirm the Law." [7]Chl *ityukte*. [8]Chl omits. [9]MSS. *mṛduḥ sumṛduḥ*. [10–11]Chl omits. [12]MSS. *kulopamāḥ kāśisamopamāś ca*. Chl omits *kāśi*°. [13]Chl "Formerly, when I made offerings, I always made those of pure and incomparable things. I never availed myself of earth for making an offering." [14]AC *kṣatraṁ*. [14–15]Chl *buddhaṁ prāpya kṣetraṁ* ("the field of merit").

अथ स्थविरो राजानं[1] संहर्षयन्नुवाच[2]। महाराज।

पश्य क्षेत्रस्य मांहात्म्यं पांशुर्यत्र विरुह्यते।
राजश्रीर्येन ते प्राप्ता आधिपत्यमनुत्तरं[3]॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा विस्मयोत्फुल्लनेत्र:[4] अमात्यानाहूयोवाच।

बलचक्रवर्तिराज्यं प्राप्तं मे पांशुदानमात्रेण।
[5]केन भगवान् भवन्तो नार्चयितव्य: प्रयत्नेन[5]॥

अथ राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य पादयोर्निपत्योवाच। स्थविरोऽयं मे मनोरथो ये भगवता बुद्धेन प्रदेशा अध्युषितास्तान्[6] अर्चेयं। चिह्नानि च कुर्यां[7] पश्चिमस्यां जनतायामनुग्रहार्थं[8]।

स्थविर उवाच[9]। साधु महाराज [10]शोभनस्ते चित्तोत्पाद:[11]। अहं[12] प्रदर्शयिष्याम्यधुना।

[13]बुद्धेनाध्युषिता देशास्तान् नमस्ये कृताञ्जलि:।
गत्वा चिह्नानि तेष्वेव करिष्यामि न संशय:[14]॥

अथ राजा चतुरङ्गबलकायं संनाह्य गन्धमाल्यपुष्पमादाय[15] स्थविरोपगुप्तसहाय:[16] संप्रस्थित:। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानमशोकं सर्वप्रथमेन लुम्बिनीवनं प्रवेशयित्वा दक्षिणं हस्तमभिप्रसार्योवाच। अस्मिन् महाराज प्रदेशे भगवान् जात:। आह च।

इदं हि प्रथमं चैत्यं बुद्धस्योत्तमचक्षुष:।
जातमात्रेह स मुनि: प्रक्रान्त: सप्तपदं भुवि॥

1–2Chl "with a courteous countenance said". 2–3Chl "He whose field of merit (*kṣetra*) is incomparable can manage so that for a gift of dust the retribution be so great and precious." 4Chl "experienced joy that he never experienced before." 5Chl "That is why one must, with a zealous heart, make offerings to the Three Jewels (*triratnaṁ*)." 6–7Chl *teṣu sarveṣu stūpān pratiṣṭhāpayāmi.* 8Chl *janatāyāṁ śraddhāṁ prasādañ ca utpādayituṁ.* MSS. add here: *āha ca. ye buddhena bhagavatā pradeśā adhyuṣitās tān arcayann ahaṁ gatvā cihnāni caiva kuryāṁ paścimāṁ janatām anukampārtham.* This is not found in the Chinese translations. 9Chl "The Venerable praised him with these words:" 10–11Chl omits. 12Chl adds: *tān sarvān.* 13MSS. *ye buddhena bhagavatā'dhyu°.* 13–14Chl omits. 15Chl *sugandhipuṣpamālyagandhalepaiḥ sarvopahāraiḥ sthaviropaguptam abhyarcya.* 16MSS. °*sahiyaḥ.*

चतुर्दिशमवलोक्य[१] वाचं भाषितवान् पुरा।
इयं मे पश्चिमा जातिर्गर्भावासश्च पश्चिमः।।

अथ राजा सर्वशरीरेण तत्र [२]पादयोर् निपत्योत्थाय[३] कृताञ्जलिः प्ररुदन्नुवाच[४]।

धन्यास्ते कृतपुण्याश्च यैर्दृष्टः स महामुनिः।
प्रजातः[५] संश्रुता यैश्च वाचस्तस्य मनोरमाः[६]।।

[७]अथ स्थविरो राज्ञः प्रसादवृद्धयर्थमुवाच। महाराज किं द्रक्ष्यसि तां देवतां[८]।

यया[९] दृष्टः प्रजायन् स वनेऽस्मिन् वदतां वरः।
क्रममाणः पदान् सप्त श्रुता वाचो यया मुनेः।।

राजाऽह। परं स्थविर द्रक्ष्यामि[१०]। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो यस्य[११] वृक्षस्य शाखामवलम्बय देवी महामाया[१२] प्रसूता तेन[१३] दक्षिणहस्तमभिप्रसार्य[१४] उवाच।

नैवासिका[१५] या इहाशोकवृक्षे[१६] सम्बुद्धदर्शिनी [१७]या देवकन्या।
साक्षादसौ दर्शयतु स्वदेहं राज्ञो ह्यशोकस्य [१८]प्रसादवृद्धयै।।

यावत् सा [१९]देवता स्वरूपेण[२०] स्थविरोपगुप्तसमीपे स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलिरुवाच। स्थविर किमाज्ञापयसि[२१]। अथ स्थविरो राजानमशोकमुवाच। महाराज इयं सा [१९]देवता यया दृष्टो भगवाञ्जायमानः। अथ राजा कृताञ्जलिस्तां [१९]देवतामुवाच[२२]।

दृष्टस्त्वया लक्षणभूषिताङ्गः[२३] प्रजायमानः कमलायताक्षः।
श्रुतास्त्वया तस्य नरर्षभस्य[२४] वाचो मनोज्ञाः प्रथमा[२५] वनेऽस्मिन्[२५]।।

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[1]Chl adds: *karaṁ prasārya.* [2–3]Chl *śraddhayā praṇipatya.* [4]Chl °*rudan gāthām uvāca.* [5]Chl "Besides, who have seen Buddha in the place of his birth." [6]MSS. °*ramā.* [7–8]Chl reads: *mayā cākṛtapuṇyena bhagavān nāvalokitaḥ. na dṛṣṭo navajāto'sau vacas tasya śrutaṁ na ca.* [9–10]Chl omits. [11]Chl "indicated the place where...". [12]Chl *māyā.* [13]Chl omits it. [14]Chl adds: "spoke to the spirit of the mango-tree." [15–16]Chl omits. [17]MSS. *yā na.* [18]MSS. add: *manaḥ.* [19]Chl *vṛkṣa-de*°. [20–21]Chl *svarūpaṁ darśayāmāsa.* [22]Chl "recited this *gāthā*:" [23]Chl *lit.* "The decorated one and one whose body is adorned with the auspicious marks and submarks." [24]Chl *lit. ṛṣabha-rājasya.* [25]Chl omits.

देवता प्राह[1]।

मया हि दृष्टः कनकावदातः प्रजायमानो[2] द्विपदप्रधानः।

पादानि सप्त क्रममाण एव श्रुताश्च वाचा[3] अपि तस्य शास्तुः ।।

राजाऽह। कथय[4] देवते कीदृशी भगवतो जायमानस्य श्रीर्बभूवेति[5]। देवता[6] प्राह। न शक्यं मया वाग्भिः संप्रकाशयितुमपि तु संक्षेपतः शृणु[7]।

विनिर्मिताभा[8] कनकावदाता सैन्द्रे[9] त्रिलोके नयनाभिरामा[10]।

ससागरान्ता च मही सशैला महार्णवस्था इव नौ[11]श्चचाल ।।

यावद्राज्ञा जात्यां[12] शतसहस्रं[13] दत्तं। चैत्यं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य राजा प्रक्रान्तः। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानं कपिलवस्तु निवेशयित्वा दक्षिण-हस्तमभिप्रसार्योवाच। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वो राज्ञः शुद्धोदनस्योपनामितः। तं[14] द्वात्रिंशन्महापुरुषलक्षणालंकृतशरीरमसेच-नकदर्शनं च दृष्ट्वा राजा सर्वशरीरेण बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतितः[15]।

इदं महाराज शाक्यवर्धं नाम देवकुलम्[16]। अत्र बोधिसत्त्वो जातमात्र उपनीतो देवमर्चयिष्यतीति। सर्वदेवता[17] च बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतिता। ततो राज्ञा शुद्धोदनेन बोधिसत्त्वो देवतानामप्ययं देव इति तेन बोधिसत्त्वस्य देवातिदेव[18] इति नामधेयं कृतं। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वो ब्राह्मणानां[19] नैमित्तिकानां [20]विपश्चिकानाम् उपदर्शितः[21]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशेऽसितेन ऋषिणा निर्दिष्टो बुद्धो लोके भविष्यतीति।

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[1]Chl adds: "this *gāthā*". [2]Chl omits it. [3]Chl *lit.* "voice". MSS. *śrutā ca vācam api*. [4–5]Chl "What happened at the moment of birth of the Adorned One?" [6]Chl *vṛkṣa-de°*. [7]Chl adds: "Then she recited this *gāthā*:" [8]Chl omits. [9]D *sendrc*. [9–10]Chl "Human beings and gods were delighted at the sight of him." [11]MSS. *nau cacāla*. [12]Chl "in that place". [13]Chl *lit.* "a hundred thousand ounces of gold". [14]MSS. *dvātriṁśatā ma°*. [14–15]Chl omits. [15–16]Chl "Then he showed the place where people sacrificed to the gods of the Śākyas." [17]Chl "But the images of gods made of wood and clay came to venerate him and...". [18]Chl "god among gods". Ch2 "god of gods". [19]Chl omits. [20]MSS. *°ñcikā°*. Chl omits. [21]MSS. *°taṁ*.

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज [1]महाप्रजापत्या संवर्धितः। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे लिपिज्ञानं शिक्षापितः। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे हस्तिग्रीवायामश्वपृष्ठे रथे शरधनुग्रहे [2]तोमरग्रहेऽङ्कुशग्रहे कुलानुरूपासु विद्यासु[3] पारगः संवृतः। इयं बोधिसत्त्वस्य [4]व्यायामशाला बभूव। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वो [5]देवताशतसहस्रैः परिवृतः[6] षष्टिभिः स्त्रीसहस्रैः सार्धं रतिमनुभूतवान्।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो जीर्णातुरमृत[7]संदर्शनोद्विग्नो वन[8]-संश्रितः[8]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे जम्बुच्छायायां निषद्य विविक्तं[9] पापकैर-कुशलैर्धर्मैः सवितर्कं सविचारं विवेकजं प्रीतिसुखमनास्रवसदृशं प्रथम-ध्यानं समापन्नः[10]। अथ परिणते मध्याह्नेऽतिक्रान्ते भक्तकालसमये-ऽन्येषां वृक्षाणां छाया प्राचीननिम्ना प्राचीनप्रवणा प्राचीनप्राग्भारा जम्बुच्छाया[11] बोधिसत्त्वस्य कायं न जहाति। [12]दृष्ट्वा च पुनर्[13] राजा शुद्धोदनः[14] सर्वशरीरेण बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतितः। अनेन द्वारेण बोधिसत्त्वो देवताशतसहस्रैः परिवृतोऽर्धरात्रे[15] कपिलवस्तुनो निर्गतः।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वेन छन्दकस्याश्वमाभरणानि च दत्त्वा प्रतिनिर्वर्तितः। [16]आह च।

[17]छन्दकाभरणान्यश्वश्चास्मिन् प्रतिनिर्वर्तितः[18]।
निरुपस्थायको वीरः प्रविष्टैकस्तपोवनं[19]॥

[1]Chl omits *mahā*. [2]MSS. *sarodhanugrahe to°*. [2–3]Chl omits. [4]Chl *viśrāma-śālā* (*°veśma*). [5–6]Chl omits. [7]Chl adds *jāta*. [8]Chl omits. It adds here : "Then he led the king to the *jambu* tree, and raising his hand he showed the king by saying...". [9–10]Chl reads "By reflection, being detached from desire, from malice and sins (*pāpakair aku°*), he had the intuition (insight), and entered into contemplation; he renounced (re-)birth, was satisfied and joyful (*prītisukhaṁ*) and attained to the first stage of *dhyāna*." [9]After *jambucchāyāyāṁ niṣadya*, Chl inserts "He went to the forest" which should have been found above (*Vide* fn. no. 8). [10]CD *atha pariṇatair*. [11]CD *°chāyāyā*. [10–12]Chl "The tree having changed the direction of its shade, the latter did not turn aside (from the Bodhisattva)." [12–13]Chl *atha*. [14]Chl omits it. Chl reads always: "with the five parts of his body (*pañcāṅga-praṇāma*)" for *sarva-śarīreṇa*. [15]Chl omits *ardha-rā°*. MSS. *°rātreḥ*. [17]MSS. *chandābhara-ṇāny aśvaṁś ca asmi°*. [16–18]Chl omits. [19]Chl *vanaṁ* for *tapo°*.

[1]अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो लुब्धकसकाशात् काशिकैर्वस्त्रैः[2] काषायाणि वस्त्राणि ग्रहाय[3] प्रव्रजितः[3]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भार्गवेणाऽश्रमेणोपनिमन्त्रितः[4]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वो राज्ञा बिम्बिसारेणार्धराज्येनोपनिमन्त्रितः। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे [5]आराडोद्रकमभिगतः। [6]आह च।

उद्रकाऽराडका नाम ऋषयोऽस्मिन् तपोवने।
अधिगतार्यसत्त्वेन[7] पुरुषेन्द्रेण तापिताः[8]॥

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वेन षड्वर्षाणि दुष्करं चीर्णं। [9]आह च।

षड्वर्षाणि हि[10] कटुकं तपस्तप्त्वा महामुनिः।
नायं मार्गो ह्यभिज्ञाया इति ज्ञात्वा समत्यजत्[11]॥

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वेन नन्दाया नन्दबलायाश्च ग्रामिकदुहित्रोः[12] सकाशात् [13]षोडशगुणितं मधुपायसं [14]परिभुक्तं।

[15]आह च।

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे नन्दाया[16] भुक्त्वा च मधुपायसं[17]।
बोधिमूलं महावीरो[15] जगाम [15]वदतां वरः[15]॥

[18]अस्मिन् प्रदेशे बोधिसत्त्वः कालिकेन[19] नागराजेन [20]बोधिमूलमभिगच्छन्[21] संस्तुतः।

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[1]Chl adds: "Then he (Upagupta) showed the place where the Bodhisattva, having cut his hair with a knife, threw it in the air and where Śakra-devendra received it respectfully." [2]Chl "with precious garments". [3]Chl "exchanged". [3–4]Chl omits. [5]Chl reads: *ārāḍakālā[mam]udra[ka]rāmam abhi°*. MSS. *ārātro°*. Ch2 omits the first name and reads the second as: "Udra[ka]Rāmaputra". [6–8]Chl omits. [7]MSS. *°gatācārya°*. [8]MSS. *°tā*. [9]MSS. *cīrṇaḥ*. Chl adds: *gāthām*. [10]MSS. omit *hi*. [9–11]Chl "For six years, the Bodhisattva devoted himself to austerities, by lying on ashes and on thorns (*kaṭukaṁ tapaḥ*). Having recognised that it was wrong to conduct himself thus and that it was not the true way, he renounced asceticism, and practised the true Law." [11]MSS. read this *pāda*: *°ya iti jñātvā samutsṛjet*. [12]Chl omits it. D *°dhuhitryāḥ*. [13–14]Chl "received a pulp of rice-milk with hundred savour." Ch2 "received sixteen times a pap of rice-milk." ABC *°prāyasaṁ*. [15]Chl omits it. [16–17]Chl "Bodhisattva". [18]Chl adds: "The king built *stūpas* in all the places which the Venerable indicated." [19]Chl "Kāla". Ch2 "Kāli [ka]". [20–21]Chl omits.

आह[1] च ।

कालिकभुजगेन्द्रेण संस्तुतो वदतां वरः ।
प्रयातोऽनेन मार्गेण बोधिमण्डेऽमृतार्थिकः[2] ।।

अथ राजा स्थविरस्य पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिरुवाच ।

अपि[3] पश्येम नागेन्द्रं येन दृष्टस्तथागतः ।
व्रजानोऽनेन मार्गेण मत्तनागेन्द्रविक्रमः[4] ।।

अथ कालिको[5] नागराजः स्थविरसमीपे स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलिरुवाच । स्थविर किमाज्ञापयसीति । अथ स्थविरो राजानमुवाच । अयं स महाराज कालिको[6] नागराजा येन भगवान् अनेन[7] मार्गेण बोधिमूलं निर्गच्छन्[8] संस्तुतः । अथ राजा कृताञ्जलिः कालिकं[9] नागराजमुवाच[10] ।

दृष्टस्त्वया ज्वलितकाञ्चनतुल्यवर्णः
शास्ता ममाऽप्रतिसमः शरदेन्दुवक्त्रः[11] ।
आख्याहि मे दशबलस्य गुणैकदेशं
तत्कीदृशी वद हि श्रीः[12] सुगते[13] तदानीं[13] ।।

कालिक[14] उवाच । न शक्यं[15] वाग्भिः संप्रकाशयितुमपि तु संक्षेपं शृणु ।

चरणतल[16]पराहतः सशैलो
ह्यवनितलः[17] प्रचचाल षड्विकारं ।
रविकिरणविभाधिका[18] नृलोके
सुगतशशिद्युतिरक्षया[19] मनोज्ञा[20] ।।

1–2Chl omits. 1MSS. *kālikena bhu*°. 2MSS. °*rthinaḥ*. 3–4Chl "'Now I wish to question Kāla, the Nāgarāja, on the circumstances under which he had seen Buddha.' Then the Venerable said to the Nāgarāja: 'Quickly appear! Quickly appear! The king wishes to question you on that which took place when you saw Buddha.'" 5Chl omits it. 6Chl "Kāla". 7–8Chl *gāthayā* (*lit.* reciting one *gāthā*). 9–10Chl *gāthām uvāca*. 11Chl *sakalendu*°. 12MSS. *vada bhavan*. The Chinese reading is adopted here. 13Chl "When he advanced towards the Bodhi-tree (*gate bodhimūlaṁ* ?)." 14Chl *nāgarāja*. 15Chl *na śakyā sā śrīḥ*. 16Chl °*talahatā sasindhuśailā*. 17Chl °*nir bhṛśaṁ*. MSS. °*tā saśailā avanis tadā*. 18MSS. °*kiraṇapra*°. 19MSS. °*dyuti-sannibhā*. 18–20Chl *raviśaśikiraṇādhikaiḥ* [*triloke*] *sugatatanūkiraṇair diśā babhāse*.

यावद् राजा चैत्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य प्रक्रान्तः। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानं बोधिमूलमुपनामयित्वा दक्षिणं करमभिप्रसार्योवाच। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज बोधिसत्त्वेन महामैत्रीसहायेन सकलं मारबलं जित्वाऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरभिसम्बुद्धा। [१]आह च।

इह मुनिवृषभेण बोधिमूले नमुचिबलं विकृतं निरस्तमाशु।
इदममृतमुदारमग्रचबोधि ह्यधिगतमप्रतिपुद्गलेन तेन[२]॥

यावद् राज्ञा बोधौ शतसहस्रं[३] दत्तं। चैत्यं च प्रतिष्ठाप्य[४] राजा प्रक्रान्तः। अथ स्थविरोपगुप्तो राजानमशोकमुवाच[५]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवान् चतुर्णां महाराजानां[६] सकाशाच् चत्वारि शैलमयानि[७] पात्राणि ग्रहाय [८]एकपात्रमधियुक्तं[९]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे त्रपुषभल्लिकयोर्वणिजोरपि पिण्डपात्रं प्रतिगृहीतं[१०]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवान् [११]वाराणसीमभिगच्छन् उपगणेनाजीविकेन संस्तुतः[१२]। यावत् स्थविरो राजानम् ऋषिपतनम्[१३] उपनीय दक्षिणं हस्तमभिप्रसार्योवाच। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज भगवता त्रिपरिवर्तं[१४] द्वादशाकारं धार्म्यं[१५] धर्मचक्रं प्रवर्तितं। [१६]आह च[१७]।

शुभं[१८] धर्ममयं चक्रं संसारविनिवर्तये।
अस्मिन् प्रदेशे नाथेन प्रवर्तितमनुत्तरं[१९]॥

अस्मिन् प्रदेशे जटिलसहस्रं[२०] प्रव्राजितं[२१]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे राज्ञो बिम्बिसारस्य धर्मं देशितं। राज्ञा च बिम्बिसारेण सत्यानि दृष्टानि

1–2Chl omits. 3Chl *lit.* "a hundred thousand ounces of gold". 4Chl °*ṣṭhāpitaṁ*. 4–5Chl omits. 6Chl "god-king of gods". Ch2 "king of gods (for *mahārāja*)". 7Ch omit. 8–9Chl "striking them with the hand, changed them into only one pot." Ch2 "received four pots and united them into a single one." 9MSS. °*muktaṁ*. 9–10Chl "Then he showed the place where five hundred merchants fed (him)." 10MSS. *piṇḍapātraḥ* °*hītaḥ*. 11–12Chl "arrived at the house of the woman of Banaras. Then he showed the place where a Brāhmaṇa praised Buddha. The king erected *stūpas* in all the places." 12MSS. *upageṇājīvikena*. 13Chl "the wood of the old Ṛṣi". MSS. °*vadanam*. 14–15Chl omits. 16–17Chl "In that place the king erected a *stūpa* and gave a hundred thousand ounces of gold." 18–19Chl omits. 20–21Chl "Tathāgata liberated a thousand Brāhmaṇas."

[1]चतुरशीतिभिश्च देवतासहस्रैर्[2] अनेकैश्च मागधकैर्[3] ब्राह्मणगृहपतिसहस्रैः[4]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवता शक्रस्य देवेन्द्रस्य धर्मो देशितः। [5]शक्रेण च सत्यानि दृष्टानि चतुर[1]शीतिभिश्च देवतासहस्रैः[6]। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाप्रातिहार्यं विदर्शितं। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे भगवान् देवेषु[7] त्रयस्त्रिंशेषु वर्षा उषित्वा[8] मातुर्जनयित्र्या धर्मं देशयित्वा देवगणपरिवृतः[9] अवतीर्णः[10]। विस्तरेण यावत् स्थविरो राजानमशोकं कुशिनगरीमुपनामयित्वा दक्षिणं करतलमभिप्रसार्योवाच। अस्मिन् प्रदेशे महाराज भगवान्[11] सकलं बुद्धकार्यं कृत्वा निरुपधिशेषे[12] निर्वाणधातौ परिनिर्वृतः। [13]आह च।

लोकं सदेवमनुजासुरयक्षनागमक्षय्यधर्मविनये मतिमान् विनीय।
वैनेयसत्त्वविरहादु[14]पशान्तबुद्धिः शान्तिं गतः परमकारुणिको महर्षिः[15]॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा मूर्च्छितः[16] पतितः[16]। यावज् जलपरिषेकं कृत्वोत्थापितः। अथ राजा कथंचित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य परिनिर्वाणे शतसहस्रं दत्त्वा चैत्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य[17] पादयोर्निपत्योवाच। स्थविर[18] अयं मे मनोरथो ये च भगवता श्रावका अग्रतायां निर्दिष्टास्तेषां शरीरपूजां[19] करिष्यामीति। स्थविर उवाच। साधु साधु महाराज। [20]शोभनस्ते चित्तोत्पादः[21]। स्थविरो राजानमशोकं जेतवनं प्रवेशयित्वा दक्षिणं करमभिप्रसार्योवाच। अयं महाराज स्थविरशारिपुत्रस्य स्तूपः। क्रियतामस्यार्चनमिति। राजाऽह। के तस्य गुणा बभूवुः। स्थविर उवाच। [22]स हि द्वितीयशास्ता धर्मसेनाधिपतिर्धर्मचक्रप्रवर्तनः[23] प्रज्ञावतामग्रो निर्दिष्टो भगवता।

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[1]MSS. omit *catur*. [1–2]Chl "Removing impurities and averting defilement, 84000 kings of gods obtained the eye of the Law in its purity (*dharmacakṣur viśuddham*)." [3]Chl omits it. [4]Chl adds: *srotāpattir labdhā*. [5–6]Chl omits. [7–8]Chl *devānāṁ trayastriṁśānāṁ svarge*. [9]Chl omits it. [10]Chl adds: "The king constructed precious *stūpas* in all the places indicated previously." [11]MSS. *bhagavāṁ*. [11–12]Chl "after having completed the conversions (*buddhakāryaṁ?*) he had to do". [13–15]Chl omits. [14]MSS. *virahān upa°*. [16]Chl *śokābhihato mūrchitaḥ*. [17]Chl adds: *kṛtāñjalir*. [18]MSS. *°viro'yaṁ*. [19]Chl *lit. stūpa-pūjāṁ*. [20–21]Chl *lit.* "You are entitled to experience these profound sentiments of faith and respect." [22–23]Chl "He was the best of all the great masters of the Law of Bhagavat."

सर्वलोकस्य या प्रज्ञा स्थापयित्वा तथागतं।
शारिपुत्रस्य प्रज्ञायाः कलां नार्हति षोडशीं ।।

[1]आह च।

सद्धर्मचक्रमतुलं यज् जिनेन प्रवर्तितं।
अनुवृत्तं हि तत्[2] तेन शारिपुत्रेण धीमता[3] ।।
कस्तस्य साधु बुद्धादन्यः[4] पुरुषः शारद्वतस्येह।
ज्ञात्वा[5] गुणगणनिधिं वक्तुं शक्नोति निरवशेषात् ।।

ततो राजा प्रीतमनाः स्थविरशारद्वतीपुत्रस्तूपे शतसहस्रं दत्त्वा [6]कृताञ्जलिरुवाच[7]।

शारद्वतीपुत्रमहं भक्त्या वन्दे[8] विमुक्तभवसङ्गं[9]।
लोकप्रकाशकीर्तिं[10] ज्ञानवतामुत्तमं वीरं[11] ।।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्थविर[12]महामौद्गल्यायनस्य स्तूपमुपदर्शयन्नुवाच। अयं[13] महाराज स्थविर[12]महामौद्गल्यायनस्य स्तूपः[14]। क्रियतामस्यार्चनमिति। राजाऽह। के तस्य गुणा बभूवुरिति। स्थविर उवाच। स हि ऋद्धिमतामग्रो निर्दिष्टो भगवता येन दक्षिणेन पादाङ्गुष्ठेन[15] शक्रस्य देवेन्द्रस्य वैजयन्तः[16] प्रासादः प्रकम्पितो नन्दोपनन्दौ नागराजानौ[17] विनीतौ। [18]आह च।

शक्रस्य येन भवनं पादाङ्गुष्ठेन कम्पितं।
पूजनीयः प्रयत्नेन कोलितः स द्विजोत्तमः ।।
भुजगेश्वरौ प्रतिभयौ दान्तौ येनातिदुर्दमौ[19] लोके।
कस्तस्य शुद्धबुद्धेः[20] पारं गच्छेद् गुणार्णवस्य ।।

यावद् राजा महामौद्गल्यायनस्य स्तूपे शतसहस्रं दत्त्वा कृताञ्जलिरुवाच[21]।

1–3Chl omits. 2MSS. *taṁ*. 4MSS. *buddhānyaḥ*. 4–5Chl *saṁkṣepād vinā*. 6Chl "Adoring Śāriputra he recited this *gāthā*:" 7–8Chl omits. 9Chl °*saṅgaḥ saḥ*. 10Chl °*prapūrṇakīrtir*. 11Chl °*ttamo vīraḥ*. 12Chl omits *mahā*. 13MSS. *idaṁ*. 14MSS. °*paṁ*. 15Chl *pādena*. 16Chl omits. 17 = *rājau*. 18–19Chl "I said it briefly." 19MSS. add *tau* after *dāntau*. 20Chl *vai vacobhiḥ*. 21Chl *gāthāṁ babhāṣe*.

ऋद्धिमतामग्रो यो जन्म[1]जराशोकदुःखनिर्मुक्तः ।
मौद्गल्यायनं वन्दे मूर्ध्ना[2] प्रणिपत्य[2] विख्यातं ।।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्थविरमहा[3]काश्यपस्य स्तूपम् [4]उपदर्शयन्नुवाच । अयं महाराज स्थविर[3]महाकाश्यपस्य स्तूपः[5] । क्रियतामस्यार्चनमिति । राजाऽह । के तस्य गुणा बभूवुः । स्थविरोवाच । स हि महात्माऽल्पेच्छानां[6] सन्तुष्टानां धूतगुणवादिनामग्रो[7] निर्दिष्टो भगवता, अर्धासनेनोपनिमन्त्रितः [8]श्वेतचीवरेणाच्छादितो दीनातुरग्राहकः शासनसंधारकश्चेति । [9]आह च ।

पुण्यक्षेत्रमुदारं दीनातुरग्राहको निरायासः ।
सर्वज्ञचीवरधरः शासनसंधारको मतिमान्[10] ।।
कस्तस्य [11]गुरोर्मनुजो[11] वक्तुं शक्तो गुणान् निरवशेषान् ।
आसनवरस्य[12] सुमतिर्यस्य जिनो दत्तवानर्धं[13] ।।

ततो राजाऽशोकः स्थविर[3]महाकाश्यपस्य स्तूपे शतसहस्रं दत्त्वा कृताञ्जलिरुवाच ।

पर्वतगुहानिलयमरणं[14] वैरपराङमुखं प्रशमयुक्तं[15] ।
सन्तोष[16]गुणविवृद्धं वन्दे खलु काश्यपं स्थविरं[17] ।।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्थविरबत्कुलस्य[18] स्तूपं दर्शयन्नुवाच । अयं[19] महाराज स्थविरबत्कुलस्य[18] स्तूपः[20] । क्रियतामर्चनमिति । राजाऽह । के तस्य गुणा बभूवुरिति ।

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[1]Ch2 and three editions of Chl have the reading '*mṛtyu*' in place of '*jarā*'. Only the Korian edition of Chl reads '*jarā*'. [2]Chl omits. [3]Chl omits *mahā*. [4–5]MSS. omit. [6]Chl °*ccho'lpatuṣṭo*. [7]Chl "first of those who practised the *dhūtas*". Ch2 "(best of those who practised) the painful practice of the *dhūtas*". [8]Chl *svacīvareṇā*°. [9–10] Chl "Now I speak to you briefly." [11]Chl *tapaso*. [12–13]Chl omits. [14]Chl "seated in the caves of hills". [15]Chl "Alien to all anger, he practised constantly *dhyāna* and ecstasy" for *praśama*°. [16]MSS. *santoṣaṁ gu*°. [16–17]Chl "He had only a little desire and he knew how to be content with a little. His merit was incomparable. Now I honour him (by bowing) the head. I prostrate myself before him, with my whole heart." [18]Ch "Bakkula" or "Bakula". [19]MSS. *idaṁ*. [20]MSS. °*paṁ*.

स्थविर उवाच। स महात्माऽल्पबाधानाम् अग्रो[१] निर्दिष्टो भगवता। अपि च न तेन कस्यचिद् द्विपदिका[२] गाथा श्राविता। राजाऽह। दीयतामत्र काकणिः[३]। यावदमात्यैरभिहितः। देव किमर्थं तुल्येष्ववस्थितेष्वत्र काकणी दीयत इति। राजाऽह। [४]श्रूयतामत्राभिप्रायो मम।

आज्ञाप्रदीपेन मनोगृहस्थं हृतं तमो यद्यपि तेन कृत्स्नं।
[५]अल्पेच्छभावान्न कृतं हि तेन यथा कृतं सत्त्वहितं तदन्यैः[६]।।

सा प्रत्याहृता तस्यैव राज्ञः पादमूले निपतिता[७]। यावद् अमात्या विस्मिता[८] ऊचुः। अहो तस्य महात्मनोऽल्पेच्छता। बभूवानयाप्यनर्थी।

यावत् स्थविरोपगुप्तः स्थविरानन्दस्य स्तूपमुपदर्शयन्नुवाच। अयं[९] स्थविरानन्दस्य स्तूपः[१०]। क्रियतामस्यार्चनमिति। राजाऽह। के तस्य गुणा बभूवुरिति। स्थविर उवाच। [११]स हि भगवत उपस्थायको बभूव। बहुश्रुतानामग्र्यो प्रवचनग्राहकश्चेति। आह च[१२]।

मुनिपात्र[१३]रक्षणपटुः [१४]स्मृतिधृतिमतिनिश्चितः श्रुतसमुद्रः[१५]।
विस्पष्ट[१६]-मधुरवचनः सुरनरमहितः सदानन्दः[१७]।।
सम्बुद्धचित्तकुशलः सर्वत्र[१८] विचक्षणो[१८] गुणकरण्डः।
जिनसंस्तुतो जितरणः सुरनरमहितः सदानन्दः[१९]।।

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[1]Chl *bādhāhīnānām alpecchānāṁ cāgro* ("best of those who are free from failings and who have only a little desire"). [2]Chl "Never did he instruct people a *gāthā* of a quarter *pāda* (*ekapādikā gāthā*)." Ch2 "Never did he speak to people one or two *pādas* of the Law (*ekapādo dvipādo vā dharmo bhāṣitaḥ*)." [3]Chl reads: "a piece of gold". [4–6]Chl "Because he has liberated himself (alone) and not others. And hence I give him only a single piece (of gold)." [5]A *ahanyebhāvān*. [6–7]Chl "The spirit in the *stūpa* refused (it) and returned (the piece) to the king." [7]CD °*tāḥ*. [8]Chl omits it. [9]MSS. *imaṁ*. [10]MSS. *stūpaṁ*. [11–12]Chl "Tathāgata has designated him as the best of those who preserved (Dharma) in its totality." [13]Chl °*dharma*°. [14–15]Chl "The strength of his mind (*lit.* thought), his wisdom and the extent of his knowledge (*śruti*, *bahuśruti*) were comparable to the ocean." [16]Chl "marvellous". [17]Chl omits. [18]Chl "He was perfectly good and full of merits." [18–19]Chl "He was the casket confining the multitude of *dharmas*."

[1]यावद् राज्ञा तस्य स्तूपे कोटिर्दत्ता। यावद् अमात्यैरभिहितः। [2]किमर्थमयं देव सर्वेषां सकाशादधिकतरं पूज्यते[3]।

राजाऽह्। श्रूयतामभिप्रायः[4]।

यत्तच्छरीरं वदतां[5] वरस्य[5] धर्मात्मनो धर्ममयं विशुद्धं[6]।
तद् धारितं तेन[7] विशोकनाम्ना तस्माद् विशेषेण स पूजनीयः[8]॥
धर्मप्रदीपो ज्वलति प्रजासु क्लेशान्धकारान्तकरो[9] यदद्य।
तत् तत्प्रभावात् [10]सुगतेन्द्रसूनोस्तस्माद् विशेषेण स पूजनीयः[11]॥
यथा सामुद्रं[12] सलिलं समुद्रैर्धार्येत कच्चिन्[13] न हि गोष्पदेन।
नाथेन तद्धर्ममवेक्ष्य भावं सूत्रान्तकोऽयं स्थविरोऽभिषिक्तः[14]॥

अथ राजा स्थविराणां स्तूपार्चनं कृत्वा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य पादयोर्निपत्य प्रीतिमना उवाच[15]।

मानुष्यं सफलीकृतं क्रतुशतैरिष्टेन यत्[16] प्राप्यते
राज्यैश्वर्यगुणैश्चलैश्च विभवैः सारं गृहीतं परं।
लोकं चैत्यशतैरलङ्कृतमिदं श्वेताभ्रकूटप्रभैः
अस्याद्याप्रतिमस्य शासनकृते[17] किं नो[18] कृतं दुष्करं॥ इति॥

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[1]Chl adds: "The king having heard these words was at the pitch of his joy." [2–3]Chl *lit.* "Why do you offer here the richest of all the offerings?" [4]Chl omits this sentence. [5]Chl omits. [6]Chl *ca pūrṇaṁ* (for *viśuddhaṁ*). [7]MSS. *°tas tena vi°*. [7–8]Chl omits. [9]Chl *nirvāpito'sau na bhavan yad°*. [10–11]Chl omits. [12]MSS. *yadā samudraṁ*. [13]MSS. *samudre kurvīta kaścin*. The reading is corrected in accordance with the Chinese. [14]Chl reads this line as: "(In a similar way) Ānanda could contain the ocean of wisdom of Buddha; and that is why I make here the most weighty offering of all." [15]Chl *prītamanāḥ kṛtāñjaliḥ sādaraṁ gāthā babhāṣe.* [16]MSS. *saṁprā°*. [17]MSS. *śāsanam idaṁ*. [18]MSS. *naḥ*. Chl reads this *śloka* as: "By making a hundred thousand offerings, I have obtained the human existence. It was not in vain that I received this body. I have met with an excellent field (*kṣetra*) of merit. I have fully realised that which is the Fruit (benefit) for a man. By means of unsteady and dangerous riches, I have accomplished and affirmed the Law. The *stūpas* that I have erected adorn Jambudvīpa, as the white clouds adorn the sky. I have met with the Law of Buddha which is perfectly pure."

यावद् राजा स्थविरोपगुप्तस्य[1] प्रणामं कृत्वा प्रक्रान्तः।

[2]यावद् राज्ञाऽशोकेन जातौ बोधौ धर्मचक्रे परिनिर्वाणे एकैक-शतसहस्रं[3] दत्तं। तस्य बोधौ विशेषतः प्रसादो जात[4] इह भगवताऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरभिसम्बुद्धेति। स यानि विशेषयुक्तानि रत्नानि तानि बोधिं प्रेषयति।

अथ राज्ञोऽशोकस्य तिष्यरक्षिता नामाग्रमहिषी। तस्या बुद्धि-रुत्पन्ना। [5]अयं राजा मया सार्धं रतिमनुभवति[6] विशेषयुक्तानि च[7] रत्नानि बोधौ प्रेषयति[8]। तया [9]मातङ्गी व्याहरिता। शक्यसि[10] त्वं बोधिं मम सपत्नीं प्रघातयितुं[11]। तयाऽभिहितं। शक्ष्यामि किन्तु कार्षापणान् देहीति[12]।

यावन् मातङ्ग्या बोधिवृक्षो मन्त्रैः परिजप्तः[13] सूत्रं च बद्धं[14]। यावद् बोधिवृक्षः [15]शोष्टुमारब्धः। ततो राजपुरुषै राज्ञे निवेदितं। देव बोधिवृक्षः शुष्यत[16] इति। आह च।

यत्रोपविष्टेन तथागतेन कृत्स्नं जगद्बुद्धमिदं यथावद्[17]।
सर्वज्ञता चाधिगता नरेन्द्र बोधिद्रुमोऽसौ निधनं प्रयाति॥

श्रुत्वा च राजा मूर्च्छितो भूमौ पतितः। यावज् जलसेकं दत्त्वा[18] उत्थापितः। अथ राजा कथंचित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य प्ररुदन्नुवाच।

दृष्ट्वा न्वहं तं द्रुमराजमूलं जानामि दृष्टोऽद्य मया स्वयम्भूः।
नाथद्रुमे चैव गते प्रणाशं प्राणाः प्रयास्यन्ति ममापि नाशं।

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[1]Chl *yāvad rājā tā gāthā bhāṣitvā daṇḍavat.* [2]According to Ch2, here begins another Avadāna called: "Offerings to the Bodhi-tree (*bodhivṛkṣārcanaṁ nāmā'vadānaṁ*)." [3]Chl *ekaikasya stūpe śatasahasraṁ kārṣāpaṇaṁ* ("a hundred thousand pieces of gold"). [4]MSS. *prasāda-jāta.* Chl "He respected more the *stūpa* of the Bodhi-tree." [5–6]Chl omits. [7]MSS °*yuktāṁś ca.* Chl "the beautiful jewels". [8]Chl adds: *mahyaṁ na dadāti.* [9]Chl *caṇḍāla(lī)mātaṅga(gī).* Ch2: "a Caṇḍāla woman (*caṇḍālī*)". [10]AB *śekyasi.* [10–11]Chl "Can you do her harm, by spell, for my sake?" [11]MSS. °*ghātituṁ.* [12]Chl adds: "She promised to give her *kārṣāpaṇa.* The Mātaṅga(gī) did not disclose her intentions." [13]Chl *vṛkṣe mantraḥ parijaptaḥ.* [14]Chl adds: "with an intention to destroy it, by incantations". [15]MSS. *śuṣkitum.* [16]A *śuṣita.* [17]Chl "And he attained to the Way of Bodhi." [18]Chl adds: "after a long time". MSS. *jala-ṣekaṁ da°.*

अथ तिष्यरक्षिता [१]राजानं शोकार्तमवेक्ष्योवाच[२]। देव, यदि बोधिर्न भविष्यत्यहं देवस्य रतिमुत्पादयिष्यामि। राजाऽह। न सा स्त्री अपि तु बोधिवृक्षः। स यत्र[३] भगवताऽनुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरधिगता। तिष्यरक्षिता[४] मातङ्गीमुवाच। शक्यसि त्वं बोधिवृक्षं यथापौराणमवस्थापयितुं[५]। मातङ्गी आह। यदि तावत्[६] प्राणाणुकमवशिष्टं[७] भविष्यति, यथापौराणमवस्थापयिष्यामीति।

विस्तरेण यावत् तया[८] सूत्रं मुक्त्वा वृक्षं[९] सामन्तेन खनित्वा दिवसे[१०] क्षीरकुम्भसहस्रेण पाययति[११]। यावदल्पैरहोभिर्यथापौराणः संवृत्तः। ततो राजपुरुषै राज्ञे निवेदितं। देव, दिष्टचा[१२] वर्धस्व। यथापौराणः संवृत्तः[१३]। श्रुत्वा च प्रीतिमना बोधिवृक्षं निरीक्षमाण उवाच।

बिम्बिसारप्रभृतिभिः पार्थिवेन्द्रैर् द्युतिन्धरैः[१४]।
न कृतं तत् करिष्यामि सत्कारद्वयमुत्तमं ।।
बोधिं च स्नापयिष्यामि कुम्भैर्गन्धोदकाकुलैः[१५]।
सङ्घस्य[१६] च करिष्यामि सत्कारं पञ्चवार्षिकं[१७] ।।

अथ राजा सौवर्णरूप्यवैडूर्यस्फटिकमयानां कुम्भानां सहस्रं गन्धोदकेन पूरयित्वा प्रभूतं[१८] चान्नपानं समुदानीय गन्धमाल्यपुष्पसञ्चयं कृत्वा[१९] स्नात्वाऽहतानि वासांसि नवानि[२०] दीर्घदशानि प्रावृत्याष्टाङ्गसमन्वागतमुपवासमुपोष्य धूप[२१]कटच्छुकमादाय[२२] शरणतलमभिरुह्य

1–2Chl *rājānam uvāca*. 3MSS. *tatra*. 4Chl adds : "Hearing these words Tiṣya° was moved with respect and regret." 5MSS. °*sthāpituṁ*. 6Chl adds : *na sampūrṇaṁ śuṣkaṁ*. 7MSS. *prāṇāntikā'vaśiṣṭā*. It is corrected according to the Ch. 8Chl adds : *mantra-baddhaṁ*. 9MSS. *vṛkṣa-sāman*°. 9–10Chl "with perseverance". 11MSS. *pāpayati*. 12MSS. *dṛṣṭvā*. 13Chl "The royal guards kept in charge of the tree came to inform the king : 'The tree is revived. It is as before, without any difference.' " 14Chl omits it. 15Chl "with one thousand precious vases full of...". 16MSS. add : *ārya*. 16–17Chl *lit.* "I shall hold an immense assembly of the *pañca-varṣa* (five years)." 18–19Chl "He sprinkled over the Bodhi-tree. At the same time he decorated it with garlands of flowers, with perfumes in powder and ointment." 20MSS. *dīrghadaśādi*. It is omitted in Chinese. 21–22Chl omits.

चतुर्दिशमायाचितु[१]मारब्धः। ये भगवतो बुद्धस्य श्रावकास्ते ममानु-ग्रहायागच्छन्तु।

अपि च[२]।

सम्यग्गता[३] ये सुगतस्य शिष्याः [४]शान्तेन्द्रिया निर्जितकामदोषाः।
सम्माननार्हा नरदेवपूजिता[५] आयान्तु तेऽस्मिन्ननुकम्पया मम॥
[६]प्रशमदमरता विमुक्तसङ्गाः प्रवरसुताः सुगतस्य धर्मराजाः।
असुरसुरनरार्चितार्य[७]वृत्तास्त्विह मदनुग्रहणात् समभ्युपेयुः[८]॥
वसन्ति काश्मीरपुरे सुरम्ये[९] ये चापि धीरास्तमसोवनेऽस्मिन्[१०]।
महावने रेवतके य[११] आर्या अनुग्रहार्थं मम तेऽभ्युपेयुः॥
अनवतप्त[१२]ह्रदे निवसन्ति ये गिरिनदीषु च पर्वतकन्दरे[१३]।
जिनसुताः खलु ध्यानरताः सदा [१४]समुदयन्त्विह तेऽद्य कृपाबलाः[१५]॥
शैरीषके ये प्रवरे विमाने वसन्ति पुत्रा वदतां वरस्य[१६]।
अनुग्रहार्थं मम ते विशोका ह्यायान्तु कारुण्यनिविष्टभावाः[१७]॥
गन्धमादनशैले च ये वसन्ति महौजसः[१८]।
इहायान्तु[१९] हि कारुण्यमुत्पाद्योपनिमन्त्रिताः[१९]॥

1–2Chl °*diśam ālokayitum ārabdhaḥ. āha ca.* 3Chl °*dṛśo* ("You who practise the right view or *samyag-dṛṣṭi*"). 4Chl [*kuśala-*] *mūlaiś ca dhyānair jitakāma*° ("by your 'roots' and meditation..."). 5Chl *nara-deva-dānava*°. 7ACD °*ācitārya*°, B °*āritārya*°. 6–8Chl "You all who have taken delight in *dhyāna* and ecstasy (*dhyāna-samādhiratāḥ*), and have attained to wisdom, members of the Saṅgha who have (attained to) deliverance, true and incomparable sons who have got a new life in the Law of Sugata, accept my invitation in compassion (for me)." 8B °*bhyupentu*, C°*pantu*, rest °*bhyupaintu*. 9–10Chl "those who are free from fear day and night." Ch2 mentions Tāmasavana after Mahāvana. Chl omits Tāmasavana. 10MSS. °*stamasā*°. 11MSS. °*take raye 'ryā*. Chl "Saints of Mahāvana and...". 12Ch read "Anava" for Anavatapta. Chl "Those who live in the precipitous neighbouring places of the great lake...." 13MSS. °*ṣu saparvatakandareṣu.* 14MSS. *samudayā*°. 15Chl omits this line. 16Chl "Those who live in the grottoes of the *chö-li.*" Ch2 "Those who live in the palace of *chö-li-cha.*" D *śerīṣake.* 17Chl omits this line. 18Chl "Those who live on the mounts of perfume (Gandha-mādana)." 19Chl *lit.* "In compassion, accept my invitation." MSS. omit *hi.*

एवमुक्ते च राज्ञि[1] त्रीणि शतसहस्राणि भिक्षूणां संनिपतितानि। तत्रैकं शतसहस्रमर्हतां द्वे शैक्षाणां[2] पृथग्जनकल्याणकानां च[3]। न कश्चिद् वृद्धासनमाक्रम्यते स्म। राजाऽह। किमर्थं वृद्धासनं तन् नाक्रम्यते। तत्र यशो नाम्ना वृद्धः षडभिज्ञः[4]। स उवाच। महाराज वृद्धस्य तदासनमिति। राजाऽह। अस्ति स्थविर त्वत्सकाशादन्यो वृद्धतर इति। स्थविर उवाच। अस्ति महाराज। वदतां[5] वरेण[5] वशिना[5] निर्दिष्टः सिंहनादिनामग्र्यः। पिण्डोलभरद्वाजस्यैतद्[6] अग्रासनं नृपते[7]।

अथ राजा कदम्बपुष्पवदाहृष्टरोमकूपः[8] कथयति। अस्ति कश्चिद् बुद्धदर्शी भिक्षुर्ध्रियत इति[9]।

स्थविर उवाच। अस्ति महाराज पिण्डोलभरद्वाजो[10] नाम्ना बुद्धदर्शी तिष्ठत इति।

राजा कथयति। स्थविर, शक्यः सोऽस्माभिर्द्रष्टुमिति। स्थविर उवाच। [11]महाराज इदानीं द्रक्ष्यसि। अयं तस्य आगमनकाल इति[12]। अथ राजा प्रीतिमना उवाच।

लाभः परः स्याद् अतुलो[13] ममेह महासुखश्चाय[14]मनुत्तमश्च।
पश्याम्यहं यत्तमुदारसत्त्वं साक्षाद् भरद्वाजसगोत्रनाम[15]॥

ततो राजा कृतकरपुटो गगनतलावसक्तदृष्टिरवस्थितः। अथ[16] स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजोऽनेकैरर्हत्सहस्रैरर्धचन्द्राकारेणोपगूढो राजहंस

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[1]Chl adds: "from four regions". [2]MSS. read: *śata-sahasrāṇām arhatāṁ śaikṣā°*. [3]Chl "one lakh of monks were Arhat; two lakhs of *srotāpanna*, *sakṛdāgāmin* and *anāgāmin*. There were even common people with pure habits (chaste manners). All had been just then seated." [4]Chl omits it. [5]Chl *buddhena*. [6–7]Chl *°dvāja-nāmā. matto'pi pūjyataraḥ*. [8]Chl wrongly translates it as: "The piles of his dress stood erect like a *kadamba* tree in flowers." Ch2 translates it in accordance with the text. [8–9]Chl "Further, he asked: 'Those who have seen Tathāgata, are they numerous?'" [10]Chl omits *bhara°* and adds *arhat* (*piṇḍolo'rhad buddha°*). [11–12]Chl "Certainly he is coming to the presence of the king." [13]C *mamehā*. [13–15]Chl "If now as the benefit of his compassion for me I can see Piṇḍola first." [14]A *gyāyam*, B *āyo yam*, CD *ścāyam* for *mahāsukhaś cā°*. [15]W.r. for *gotranāmānam*. [16]Chl "He saw Piṇḍola

इव गगनतलादवतीर्य वृद्धान्ते निषसाद। स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजं दृष्ट्वा तान्यनेकानि भिक्षुशतसहस्राणि प्रत्युपस्थितानि[1]।

अद्राक्षीद् राजा पिण्डोलभरद्वाजं श्वेतपलित[2]शिरसं प्रलम्बभ्रूललाटं[3] निगूढाक्षितारकं प्रत्येकबुद्धाश्रयं[4]। दृष्ट्वा च राजा मूलनिकृत्त[5] इव द्रुमः[6] सर्वशरीरेण स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजस्य पादयोः पतितः। मुखतुण्डकेन च पादावनुपरिमार्ज्योत्थाय तौ[7] जानुमण्डलौ पृथिवीतले प्रतिष्ठाप्य[8] कृताञ्जलिः स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाजं निरीक्षमाणः प्ररुदन्नुवाच।

यदा मया शत्रुगणान् निहत्य प्राप्ता समुद्राभरणा सशैला।
एकातपत्रा पृथिवी तदा मे प्रीतिर्न सा या[9] स्थविरं निरीक्ष्य[10]॥

त्वद्दर्शनाद्[11] भवति दृष्टोऽद्य तथागतः। करुणालाभात् त्वद्दर्शनाच्च द्विगुणप्रसादो ममोत्पन्नः[12]। अपि च स्थविर दृष्टस्ते त्रैलोक्यनाथो[13] गुरुर्मे भगवान् बुद्ध इति[14]। ततः स्थविरपिण्डोलभरद्वाज उभाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां [15]भ्रुवमुन्नाम्य राजानमशोकं निरीक्षमाण उवाच।

दृष्टो मया ह्यसकृदप्रतिमो महर्षिः[16]
सन्तप्तकाञ्चनसमोपमतुल्यतेजः[17]।
द्वात्रिंश[18]लक्षणधरः शरदिन्दुवक्त्रो[19]
ब्राह्मस्वराधिकरणो ह्यरणाविहारी[20]॥

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similar to a demilune and to the king of cranes accompanied by several thousands of myriads of Arhat descended. He came to take his seat, in front of the Sthaviras. The assistants numbering three lakhs all got up and paid homage to him."

[1]Chl: *cf.* above. [2]AB °*parita*°. [3]Chl reads: "eye-brows thick". [3–4]Chl "whose body showed (auspicious) marks and submarks of a Pratyeka°." [5]MSS. °*nikṛnta*°. [5–6]Chl omits. [7–8]Chl "He kneeled down after the manner of the *hu*." [8–10]Chl "Then he recited this *gāthā*: 'Although Tathāgata has entered into Nirvāṇa, you fill his office (*śāntiṁ gate tathāgate tvaṁ buddhakāryaṁ kuruṣe*). You are living, O Venerable, in compassion for me; give me your instruction which I shall follow (*lit.* I shall conform my conduct).'" [9]MSS. *me*; *cf.* p. 78. last line. [11–12]Chl "Having recited this *gāthā*, the king asked the Venerable:" [13–14]Chl *tathāgataḥ*. [15]MSS. *bhuva*°. [14–16]Chl *sa uvāca. dṛṣṭo mayā'sau.* [16–17]Chl *kāñcanastūpatulyavarṇaḥ*. [18]MSS. °*triṁśallakṣa*°. [19]Chl *sakalendu*°. [19–20]Chl "His voice

राजाऽह। स्थविर कुत्र ते भगवान् दृष्टः 'कथं चेति'। स्थविर उवाच। यदा महाराज भगवान् विजितमारपरिवारः[१] पञ्चभिरर्हच्छतैः सार्धं प्रथमतो राजगृहे वर्षामुषितो[२]ऽहं तत्कालं तत्रैवासम्। मया[३] स दक्षिणीयः सम्यग् दृष्ट इति। आह च[४]।

वीतरागैः परिवृतो वीतरागो महामुनिः।
यदा राजगृहे वर्षा उषितः स तथागतः॥
तत्कालमासं[५] तत्राहं सुबुद्धस्य तदन्तिके।
यथा पश्यसि मां साक्षादेवं दृष्टो मया मुनिः[६]॥

यदापि महाराज भगवता श्रावस्त्यां तीर्थ्यान् विजयार्थं महाप्रातिहार्यं कृतं बुद्धावतंसकं यावदकनिष्ठभवनं[७] निर्मितं महत् तत्कालं तत्रैवाहमासम्[८]। मया तद् बुद्धविक्रीडितं दृष्टमिति। आह च[९]।

तीर्थ्या[१०] यदा भगवता कुपथप्रयाता
ऋद्धि[११]प्रभावविधिना खलु निर्गृहीताः।
विक्रीडितं दशबलस्य तदा ह्युदारं
दृष्टं मया तु नृप हर्षकरं प्रजानां॥

यदापि महाराज भगवता देवेषु त्रयस्त्रिंशेषु वर्षा[१२] उषित्वा[१२] मातुर्जनयित्र्या धर्मं देशयित्वा देवगणपरिवृतः सांकाश्ये[१३] नगरेऽवतीर्णोऽहं तत्कालं तत्रैवासम्। [१४]मया सा देवमनुष्यसंपदा दृष्टा उत्पलवर्णया च निर्मिता चक्रवर्तिसंपदा इति।

(similar to that of) Brahmā was profound and marvellous. The great Compassionate One had a cave for his dwelling."

[1]Chl omits. [2]MSS. *varṣām upagato.* Chl *lit.* "While he was in his estival residence." [3]MSS. °*vāsan mayā.* [3–4]Chl "I saw the field of merit prosper (*kṣetrasya vipāko mayā dṛṣṭaḥ*)." [5]AC °*māsan.* [4–6]Chl omits. [7]ABC °*bhagavanaṁ.* [8]MSS. °*māsan.* [6–9]Chl "In the kingdom of Śrāvastī, when he showed the great supernatural transformations to subdue the heretics: (when) by charm, he made Buddhas appear who were magnificently adorned and who formed a series that rose up to the heaven of Akaniṣṭha, then again, I was there." [10]Chl omits this *śloka.* [11]ABC *riddh*°. [12]Chl omits. [13]MSS. *saṅkāśye.* [14]MSS. °*vāsan mayā.* Chl: *cf.* p. 99.

यदावतीर्णो वदतां वरिष्ठो वर्षामुषित्वा खलु देवलोके।
तत्राप्यहं सन्निहितो बभूव दृष्टो मयाऽसौ मुनिरग्रसत्त्वः[१] ।।

यदा महाराज सुमागधया अनाथपिण्डदुहित्रा[२] उपनिमन्त्रितः पञ्चभिरर्हच्छतैः सार्धमृद्धया[३] पुण्ड्वर्धनं[३] गतस्तदाहं ऋद्धया पर्वतशैलं ग्रहाय गगनतलमाक्रम्य[४] पुण्डवर्धनं गतः। [५]त्वन्निमित्तं च मे भगवताऽज्ञा क्षिप्ता। न तावत्ते परिनिर्वातव्यं यावद्धर्मो नान्तर्हित इति। आह च।

यदा जगामर्द्धिबलेन नायकः सुमागधायोपनिमन्त्रितो गुरुः।
तदा गृहीत्वर्द्धिबलेन पर्वतं[६] जगाम तूर्णं खलु पुण्डवर्धनं ।।
आज्ञा तदा शाक्यकुलोदितेन दत्ता च मे कारुणिकेन[७] तेन।
तावन्न ते निर्वृति[८]रभ्युपेया अन्तर्हितो यावदयं न धर्मः[९] ।।

यदापि महाराज त्वया पूर्वं बालभावाद्[१०] भगवतो राजगृहं पिण्डाय प्रविष्टस्य सक्तुं[१०] दास्यामीति[१०] पांश्वञ्जलिर्भगवतः पात्रे प्रक्षिप्तो राधगुप्तेन[११] चानुमोदितं त्वं[१२] च भगवता निर्दिष्टोऽयं दारको वर्षशतपरिनिर्वृतस्य मम पाटलिपुत्रे नगरेऽशोको नाम राजा भविष्यति चतुर्भागचक्रवर्ती धार्मिको धर्मराजा[१३] यो मे शरीरधातुकं वैस्तारिकं[१४] करिष्यति चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यत्यहं तत्कालं तत्रैवासम्[१५]। आह च।

यदा पांश्वञ्जलिर्दत्तस्त्वया बुद्धस्य भाजने।
बालभावात् प्रसादित्वा तत्रैवाहं तदाऽभवम्[१६] ।।

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[1]Chl "When the Bhikṣuṇī Utpalā (Chl "lotus-flower," Ch2 "Utpalavarṇikā") transformed herself magically into a Cakravartin king (*cakravarti-sampadā nirmitā*) and when her (his) thousand sons all prostrated themselves at the feet of Buddha, I was also there." [2]Chl omits *anātha°*, and adds: *pūrṇavardhane buddha*. [3]Chl "Everyone showing supernatural transformations arrived at the town of Pūrṇavar° ("full riches")." [3–4]Chl "On that occasion, I transformed myself magically, so as to be seated in a grotto of jewels of a jewel-mountain." [5]MSS. *tannimittaṁ ca ye*. [6]MSS. *śailaṁ*. [5–9]Chl omits. [7]MSS. *kāruṇikara*. [8]ABC *nirvṛtti°*. MSS. *°rābhyu°*. [10]Chl omits. [11]Chl adds: *kṛtāñjalinā*. [12–16]Chl simply reads: "At the moment when Buddha made a prophecy about you, I could see him as well." [13]= *rājo*. [14]MSS. *°kām*. [15]MSS. *°vāsīt*. [16]MSS. *°bhuvan*.

राजाऽह। स्थविर। कुत्रेदानीमुष्यत इति। स्थविर उवाच।

उत्तरे[1] सरराजस्य[1] पर्वते गन्धमादने।
वसामि नृपते[2] तत्र सार्धं सब्रह्मचारिभिः[3]।।

राजाऽह। कियन्तः स्थविरस्य परिवाराः। स्थविर उवाच।

षष्टयर्हन्तः सहस्राणि परिवारो नृणां वर।
वसामि[4] यैरहं सार्धं निष्पृहैर्जितकल्मषैः[5]।।

[6]अपि च महाराज किमनेन सन्देहेन कृतेन[7]। परिविष्यतां भिक्षुसङ्घः। [8]भुक्तवतो भिक्षुसङ्घस्य प्रतिसंमोदनं करिष्यामि[9]। राजाऽह। एवमस्तु यथा स्थविर आज्ञापयति। किन्तु बुद्धस्मृतिप्रतिबोधितो[10]ऽहं बोधिस्नपनं तावत् करिष्यामि। समनन्तरं च मनापेन[11] चाहारेण भिक्षुसङ्घमुपस्थास्यामीति।

अथ राजा सर्वमित्रम् [12]उद्घोषकमामन्त्रयति। अहम् आर्यसङ्घस्य शतसहस्रं दास्यामि। कुम्भसहस्रेण[13] च बोधिं स्नापयिष्यामि। मम नाम्ना घुष्यतां पञ्चवार्षिकमिति।

तत्कालं[14] च कुनालस्य नयनद्वयमविपन्नमासीत्। स[15] राज्ञो दक्षिणे पार्श्वे स्थितः। तेनांगुलिद्वयमुत्क्षिप्तं न तु वाग् भाषिता। द्विगुणं त्वहं प्रदास्यामीत्याकारयति। पाणौ[16] वर्धितमात्रे च कुनालेन सर्वजनकायेन हास्यं मुक्तं।

ततो राजा हास्यं मुक्त्वा कथयति। अहो राधगुप्त केनैतद् वर्धितमिति।

राधगुप्तः कथयति। [17]देव बहवः पुण्यार्थिनः प्राणिनो यः पुण्यार्थी तेन वर्धितमिति[18]।

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[1]Chl omits. [2–3]Chl omits. [4–5]Chl omits the whole line. [6–7]Chl *alaṁ tāvan mahārāja kim etaiḥ praśnaiḥ.* [8–9]Chl "After repast, I shall complete my narrative for the sake of the king." [10]Chl "Having produced in me the thought of meditation on Buddha". [11]Chl omits. [12]Chl *wei-na.* [13]Chl "with a thousand precious vases full of perfumed fluid". [14–15]Chl *rājñaḥ putraḥ kunālo.* [16]MSS. *pāṇinā.* [17–18]Chl "Among the multitude of human beings, numerous are they who are eager for (achieving) merit."

राजाऽह। शतसहस्रत्रयं दास्यामीत्यार्यसङ्घे। कुम्भसहस्रेण च बोधिं स्नपयिष्यामि। [1]मम नाम्ना घुष्यतां पञ्चवार्षिकमिति[2]।

यावत्[3] कुनालेन चतस्रोऽङ्गुल्य उत्क्षिप्ता। ततो राजा रुषितो[4] राधगुप्तमुवाच। अहो राधगुप्त कोऽयमस्माभिः सार्धं प्रतिद्वन्द्वयति अलोकज्ञः।

रुषितं[5] च राजानमवेक्ष्य[5] राधगुप्तो राज्ञः[6] पादयोर्निपत्योवाच[7]। देव कस्य शक्तिर्नरेन्द्रेण सार्धं विस्पर्धितुं भवेत्। [8]कुनालो गुणवान् पित्रा सार्धं विकुरुते[9]। अथ राजा दक्षिणेन परिवृत्य कुनालमवलोक्योवाच। स्थविर अहं कोशं स्थापयित्वा[10] राज्यमन्तःपुरममात्यगणमात्मानं च कुनालं [11]चार्यसङ्घे निर्यातयामि[12]। सुवर्णरूप्यस्फटिकवैडूर्यमयैः[13] पञ्चकुम्भसहस्रै[14]र्नानागन्धपूर्णैः[15] क्षीरचन्दनकुंकुमकर्पूरवासितैर्महाबोधिं स्नपयिष्यामि। पुष्पशतसहस्राणि च बोधिप्रमुखे चार्यसङ्घे ददामि[16]। मम नाम्ना घुष्यतां पञ्चवार्षिकमिति। [17]आह च।

राज्यं समृद्धं हि[18] संस्थाप्य कोशमन्तः[19]पुरामात्यगणं च सर्वं।
ददामि सङ्घे गुणपात्रभूते आत्माकुनालं च गुणोपपन्नं[20]॥

ततो राजा पिण्डोलभरद्वाजप्रमुखे भिक्षुसङ्घे निर्यातयित्वा[21] बोधिवृक्षस्य च चतुर्दिशं वारं बद्ध्वा स्वयमेव च वारमभिरुह्य चतुर्भिः कुम्भसहस्रै[22]र्बोधिस्नपनं कृतवान्। [23]कृतमात्रे च बोधिस्नपने बोधिवृक्षो यथापौराणः संवृत्तः। वक्ष्यति[24] हि।

[1–2]Chl omits. [2]MSS. °*varṣi*°. [3]Chl *tataḥ punaḥ*. [4]Chl omits. [5]Chl omits. [6–7]Chl "having kneeled down replied." [8–9]Chl "Kunāla is a child. It is a little boy who plays with his father." [9]MSS °*kurva*°. [10]Chl "I shall use up my treasure;" it omits *rājyaṁ*. Ch2 agrees with the text which reads: "the king reserves his treasure." MSS. *sthaviro'haṁ kośaṁ sthāpa*°. [11]Chl adds: "and others". [11–12]MSS. omit. [13]MSS. °*mayānāṁ*. [14]MSS. °*hasrāṇi ṇānā*°. [15]MSS. °*pūrṇāni*. [13–16]Chl omits. [17]MSS. °*varṣikam iti*. [18]MSS. omit it. [17–20]Chl omits. [19]MSS. °*śam antaḥpurāṇi ca amā*°. [20]=*ātmakunā*° or *ātmānaṁ ku*°. [20–21]Chl "When the donation was made, when the monks had expressed their desires and when the desires (thus) expressed were approved, the king…". [22]Chl "with four thousand precious vases filled with a perfumed fluid". [23–24]Chl omits. [24]A *cakṣyati*°. B *vakṣyeti*°.

कृतमात्रे नृपतिना बोधिस्नपनमुत्तमं ।
बोधिवृक्षस्तदा जातो हरित्पल्लवकोमलः ।।
दृष्ट्वा [१]हरितपत्राढ्यं पल्लवाङ्कुरकोमलं ।
राजा हर्षपरं यातः[२] सामात्यगणनैगमः[३] ।।

अथ राजा बोधिस्नपनं कृत्वा भिक्षुसङ्घं[४] परिवेष्टुमारब्धः। तत्र यशो नाम्ना स्थविरः। तेनाभिहितं। महाराज महानयं परमदक्षिणीय आर्यसङ्घः संनिपतितः। तथा ते परिवेष्टव्यं यथा तेन क्षतिर्न[५] स्यादिति[६]।

ततो राजा स्वहस्तेन परिवेषयन् यावन् नवकान्तं[७] गतः। तत्र द्वौ श्रामणेरौ संरञ्जनीयं[८] धर्मं[८] समादाय वर्ततः। एकेनापि सक्तवो[९] दत्ता द्वितीयेनापि सक्तवः[९]। एकेन खाद्यका[१०] द्वितीयेनापि खाद्यका[१०] एव। एकेन मोदका[११] द्वितीयेनापि मोदकाः[११]। तौ दृष्ट्वा राजा हसितः। इमौ श्रामणेरौ बालक्रीडया क्रीडतः[१२]।

यावद् राज्ञा भिक्षुसङ्घं परिवेष्य वृद्धान्तमारूढः। स्थविरेण चानुयुक्तः। [१३]मा देवेन कुत्रचिद् अप्रसाद उत्पादित इति[१४]।

राजाऽह। नेति। अपि तु अस्ति द्वौ श्रामणेरौ बालक्रीडया क्रीडतो[१२] यथा[१५] बालदारकाः पांश्वागारैः क्रीडन्त्येवं तौ श्रामणेरौ सक्तुक्रीडया क्रीडतः[१२] खाद्यक्रीडया [१२]क्रीडतः[१६]।

स्थविर उवाच। अलं[१७] महाराज[१७]। उभौ हि तौ उभयतो[१८] भागविमुक्तौ[१८] अर्हन्तौ।

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[1]A *haritayatādyaṁ.* B *haritayatāḍhyaṁ.* [2]MSS. *jagāma.* [3]BD *°nairgamaḥ.* Chl omits this *śloka.* [4]MSS. *°saṅgha.* A *pariveṣṭam.* B *°veṣṭram.* [4–6]Chl "wished to give food to the monks. The Sthavira Yaśaḥ said : 'O king, you have met with a superior field of merit. Do not care for the differences of rank.'" [5]MSS. *°ti na.* [7]Chl *śrāmaṇeraṁ.* MSS. *°veṣaṇaṁ yāvan nava°.* [8]Chl "the Law of concord and respect". [9]Chl "broiled barley". [10]Chl "pancake (broad thin cake)". [11]Chl "titbits". MSS. *modakā.* [12]MSS. *°krīḍitaḥ.* [13–14]Chl "O king, when you have seen something shabby, can't you feel contempt for it ? (=Have you seen anything shabby for which it may be impossible for you not to feel contempt?)" [14]MSS. *aprasādam utpādi°.* [15–16]Chl omits. [17]Chl "O great king, don't be contemptuous." [18]Chl "have attained Liberation."

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञः प्रीतिमनसो बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। तौ[१] श्रामणेरावागम्य[२] भिक्षुसङ्घं[३] पटेनाच्छादयिष्यामि। ततस्तौ श्रामणेरौ राज्ञोऽभिप्रायमवगम्य[४] भूयोऽन्येऽस्माभिः स्वगुणा उद्भावयितव्या इति[५] [चिन्तितौ]। तयोरेकेन कटाहका उपस्थापिता द्वितीयेन रङ्गः समुदानीतः।

राज्ञा पृष्टौ[६] श्रामणेरकौ। किमिदमारब्धं[७]। तयोरभिहितं। देवो[८]ऽस्माकमागम्य भिक्षुसङ्घं पटेनाच्छादितुकामः[९]। तान् पटान् रञ्जयिष्यामः।

श्रुत्वा च राज्ञो बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना। मया[१०] केवलं चिन्तितं न तु वाङ् निश्चारिता। परचित्तविदावेतौ महात्मानौ[११]। ततः सर्वशरीरेण पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिरुवाच।

मौर्यः[१२] सभृत्यः सजनः सपौरः
सुलब्धलाभार्थसुयष्टयज्ञः।
यस्येदृशः साधुजन[१३]प्रसादः
काले तथोत्साहि करोति दानं[१४]॥

यावद् राज्ञाऽभिहितं। युष्माकमागम्य [१५]त्रिचीवरेण भिक्षुसङ्घमाच्छादयिष्यामीति। ततो राजाऽशोकः पञ्चवार्षिके[१६] पर्यवसिते [१७]सर्वभिक्षून् [१५]त्रिचीवरेणाच्छाद्य[१८] चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि [१९]सङ्घस्या-

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[1–2]Chl omits. [3]Chl adds here: *pratyekam ekena sūkṣmeṇa.* Ch2 reads: "I have made offering to the Saṅgha. Further, I am going to have good dresses and offer them to these two *śrāmaṇeras.*" [4]C *abhigamya.* [4–5]Chl "reflected thus: 'Now we are going to do so that the king may redouble his faith and respect.'" [6]MSS. *dṛṣṭau.* [7]Chl *lit.* "What do you wish to do?" [8]MSS. °*smākam avagamya.* [8–9]Chl "Because of us the king wishes to offer a piece of fine cloth to every member of the Saṅgha." [10]A (*kevalaṁ*) *ciñcitaṁ*, B *citaṁ.* [10–11]Chl "'These *śrāmaṇeras* have divined my thought,' the king rejoiced highly." [12–14]Chl "My relations, friends and servants have obtained very great benefit. They have acquired a field of superior merit. Now with all my power I shall give alms." [13]MSS. *jane.* [14]MSS. *kṛtaṁ ca dānaṁ*, ABD omit *ca.* [15]MSS. *tṛcī*°. [16]MSS. °*varṣi*°. [17–18]Chl omits. [19]Chl omits.

च्छादनानि[1] दत्त्वा[1] पृथिवीमन्तःपुरममात्यगणमात्मानं च कुनालं च[2] निष्क्रीतवान्[3]। भूयसा भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतिलब्धा। चतुरशीति-धर्मराजिकासहस्त्रं[4] प्रतिष्ठापितम्। इति[5]।

[1]Chl omits. MSS. °*naṁ dattvā.* [2–3]Chl "and others; having given all to the Saṅgha, he returned to his palace." Ch2 "He gave four lakhs of *kārṣāpaṇas*. Besides, with innumerable *kārṣāpaṇas* and silver (riches) he bought back the vast earth (*mahāpṛthivī*) . . . . etc." [3–5]Chl "When king Aśoka conceived faith and respect and when he had constructed 84000 *stūpas* completely and held the Pañcavārṣika, the inhabitants of all parts of Jambudvīpa had faith in Buddha and Dharma." [4]MSS. °*srāṇi.*

कुनालोपाख्यानं

[१]यस्मिन्नेव दिवसे राज्ञाऽशोकेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं[२] प्रतिष्ठापितं तस्मिन्नेव दिवसे[३] राज्ञोऽशोकस्य पद्मावती नाम्ना देवी प्रसूता। पुत्रो जातः अभिरूपो[४] दर्शनीयः प्रासादिको नयनानि चास्य परशोभनानि[५]।

यावद् राज्ञोऽशोकस्य[६] निवेदितं। देव दिष्टया[७] वृद्धिर्देवस्य पुत्रो जातः[८]। श्रुत्वा राजा आत्तमनाः[९] कथयति।

प्रीतिः[१०] परा मे विपुला ह्यवाप्ता [११]मौर्यस्य वंशस्य परा विभूतिः।
धर्मेण राज्यं मम कुर्वतो हि जातः सुतो धर्मविवर्धनोऽस्तु[१२]।।

तस्य धर्मविवर्धन इति नाम कृतं।

यावत् कुमारो राज्ञोऽशोकस्योपनामितः। अथ राजा कुमारं निरीक्ष्य प्रीतमनाः[१३] कथयति[१४]।

सुतस्य मे नेत्रवरा[१५] सुपुण्या सुजातनीलोत्पलसंनिकाशा[१६]।
अलङ्कृतं शोभति यस्य वक्त्रं सम्पूर्णचन्द्रप्रतिमं विभाति[१७]।।

यावद् राजाऽमात्यान् उवाच। दृष्टानि भवद्भिः[१८] कस्येदृशानि नयनानि। अमात्या ऊचुः। देव मनुष्यभूतस्य न दृष्टानि[१९]। अपि तु देव, अस्ति[२०] हिमवति पर्वतराजे[२१] कुनालो नाम पक्षी प्रतिवसति। तस्य सदृशानि[२२] नयनानि। आह[२३] च।

1–3Chl omits, Ch2 reads. 2MSS. °*hasrāṁ*. 4–5Chl reads: *dharmavivardhano nāma*. 6Chl reads: *ekena amātyena*. 7MSS. *dṛṣṭvā vṛddhi de°*. 8Chl reads this sentence: "O king, you should rejoice because a son is born to you. The features of his face are uniform and his eyes are incomparable." 9ACD °*manā*. B *ātmanā*. 10–12Chl reads: "The lineage of the kings who have preceded me is extremely glorious. And now I have been able to give to the Law a prosperity still greater. Lo! A son is born to me." 11MSS. *saurya°*. 13–14Chl *lit.* "felt a tender affection and recited this *gāthā*:" 15Chl *netrātulā*. 16Chl *navotpalasaṁ°*. 17Chl reads this line as: "His face is gracious, and just like the full-moon; those who look at it become delighted." 18Chl adds: *manuṣyāṇāṁ* or *manuṣyabhūtasya*. 19Chl adds: *na ca śrutāni*. 20Chl *śrutamātraṁ*. 21Chl *parvate*. 22Chl *su°*. 23Chl omits. Ch2 reads.

हिमेन्द्रराजे[1] गिरिशैलशृङ्गे[1] प्रबालपुष्पप्रसवे जलाढ्ये।
कुनालनाम्नेति निवासि[2] पक्षी नेत्राणि तेनास्य समान्यमूनि[3] ॥

ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं। कुनालः पक्षी आनीयतामिति।

तस्योर्ध्वतो योजनं यक्षाः शृण्वन्ति। अधो योजनं नागाः। ततो यक्षैस्तत्क्षणेन कुनालः पक्षी आनीतः। अथ राजा[4] कुनालस्य नेत्राणि सुचिरं निरीक्ष्य न किंचिद् विशेषं पश्यति। ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं। कुमारस्य कुनालसदृशानि नयनानि[5]। भवतु कुमारस्य कुनाल इति नाम। वक्ष्यति[6] हि।

नेत्रानुरागेण स पार्थिवेन्द्रः सुतं[7] कुनालेति तदा बभाषे।
ततोऽस्य नाम प्रथितं पृथिव्यां तस्यार्यसत्त्वस्य नृपात्मजस्य[8] ॥

विस्तरेण यावत् कुमारो महान् संवृत्तः। तस्य काञ्चनमाला नाम[9] दारिका पत्न्यर्थे आनीता।

यावद् राजाऽशोकः कुनालेन सह [10]कुक्कुटारामं गतः। तत्र यशो[11] नाम्ना सङ्घस्थविरः अर्हन्[12] षडभिज्ञः[12]। स पश्यति कुनालस्य न चिरान् नयनविनाशो भविष्यति।

तेन राजाऽभिहितः। किमर्थं कुनालः स्वकर्मणि[13] न नियुज्यते। ततो[14] राज्ञाऽभिहितः। कुनाल सङ्घस्थविरो यदाज्ञापयति तत् परिपालयितव्यं[15]। ततः कुनालः स्थविरस्य[16] पादयोर्निपत्य[17] कथयति। स्थविर [18]किमाज्ञापयसि[19]। स्थविर उवाच[20]। चक्षुः कुनाल अनित्यमिति कुरु। आह[21]।

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[1]MSS. *sṛṅge*. [2]MSS. °*vāsapa*°. [1–3]Chl omits. [3–5]Chl "Then the king ordered the *yakṣas*: 'Catch quickly a Kunāla-bird from the snowy mountains.' A *yakṣa* obeyed the order of the king immediately. In an instant he caught the bird and brought it to the king. The king gazed at the bird (and said): 'Its little eyes are beautiful, they differ from the eyes of this infant in nothing.'" [4]MSS. *rājñā*. [6–8]Chl "'May the name be spread and all on all sides know it.' So he was called Kunāla." [7]MSS. *sutaḥ*. [9]MSS. °*mā*. [10]MSS. *kurku*°. [11]Chl omits the name; Ch2 reads. [12]Chl omits. [13]Chl *nityaṁ dharmaśravaṇe* ("to hear the Law regularly"). [14–15]Chl "Then the king ordered his son: 'Now you must comply with the instructions of the Sthavira.'" [16–17]Chl *sthaviram upasṛtya kṛtāñjaliḥ*. [18]Chl *yad ājñā*°. [19]Chl adds: *paripālayāmi*. [20–21]Chl "gave this

कुमार[1] चक्षुः सततं परीक्ष्यं चलात्मकं दुःखसहस्रयुक्तं।
यत्रानुरक्ता बहवः पृथग्जनाः[2] कुर्वन्ति कर्माण्यहितावहानि[3] ॥

स च तथाऽभ्यासं करोति मनसिकारप्रयुक्तः। एकाभिरामः प्रशमारामश्च संवृत्तः[4]। स राजकुले विविक्ते स्थानेऽवस्थितस् [5]चक्षुरादीन्यायतनानि अनित्यादिभिर् आकारैः परीक्षते[6]।

तिष्यरक्षिता च नाम्नाऽशोकस्याग्रमहिषी तं प्रदेशमभिगता। सा[7] तं कुनालमेकाकिनं दृष्ट्वा नयनानुरागेण गात्रेषु परिष्वज्य कथयति।

[8]दृष्ट्वा तवेदं नयनाभिरामं श्रीमद् वपुर्नेत्रयुगं च कान्तं।
दंदह्यते मे हृदयं समन्ताद् दावाग्निना प्रज्वलते च कक्षः[9] ॥

श्रुत्वा कुनाल उभाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां कर्णौ पिधाय कथयति[10]।

वाक्यं न युक्तं तव वक्तुमेतत्
सूनोः पुरस्ताज् जननी ममासि।
अधर्ममार्गं परिवर्जयस्व
अपायमार्गस्य स एव[11] हेतुः ॥

ततस्तिष्यरक्षिता तत्कालमलभमाना[12] क्रुद्धा कथयति।

[13]अभिकामामभिगतां यत्त्वं नेच्छसि मामिह[14]।
न चिरादेव दुर्बुद्धे[15] सर्वथा[16] न भविष्यसि ॥

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advice: 'The eye is perishable. One must not set one's hopes on it. Train yourself with zeal to the practice of meditation and sapience.'"

[1]MSS. *cakṣuḥ ku°*. [2]MSS. *°nāś ca*. [1–3]Chl omits. [3–4]Chl "Thereupon he received the doctrine." [5]Chl adds: *dhyāyati*. [6]MSS. *°kṣyate*. [5–6]Chl *cakṣur duḥkhaṁ śūnyam anityam ātmā ca asatyam iti parikṣate*. [7]MSS. *sa*. [8–9]Chl "Just as a violent fire flares up and consumes the forest of a mountain, so the passion tortures me. We must now give ourselves up to the pleasures of love." [9]MSS. *°te va kakṣam*. [10]Chl "recited the following *gāthā*:" [10–11]Chl "I close my ears, for I do not wish to hear these intemperate evil speeches. You being a mother, how could you have a feeling of lust towards your son! The criminal desire, if not suppressed, is a door to the evil ways." [11]MSS. *hi eṣa°*. [12]Chl omits. [13–14]Chl "as you refuse". [15]Chl omits. MSS. *°ddha*. [16]Chl "certainly".

कुनाल उवाच[1]।

मम भवतु मरणं मात[2] स्थितस्य धर्मे विशुद्धभावस्य[3]।
न तु जीवितेन कार्यं सज्जनजनधिक्कृतेन[4] मम ॥
[5]स्वर्गस्य धर्मलोपो यतो भवति जीवितेन किं तेन।
मम मरणहेतुना वै बुधपरिभूतेन धिक्कृतेन[6]॥

यावत् तिष्यरक्षिता कुनालस्य छिद्रान्वेषिणी अवस्थिता।

राज्ञोऽशोकस्योत्तरापथे[7] तक्षशिला नगरं विरुद्धं। श्रुत्वा च राजा[8] स्वयमेवाभिप्रस्थितः[9]। ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितः। देव[10] कुमारः[11] प्रेष्यतां।

अथ राजा कुनालमाहूय[12] कथयति। वत्स कुनाल गमिष्यसि[13] तक्षशिलानगरं[14] संनामयितुं[15]।

कुनाल उवाच। परं देव गमिष्यामि[16]।

ततो नृपस्तस्य निशाम्य भावं [17]पुत्राभिधानस्य मनोरथस्य।
स्नेहाच्च योग्यं मनसा च बुद्ध्वा आज्ञापयामास विहारयात्रां[18]॥

अथ राजाऽशोको नगरशोभां[19] मार्गशोभां च कृत्वा जीर्णातुर-कृपणांश्च[20] मार्गादपनीय एकरथे[21]ऽभिरुह्य कुमारेण सह पाटलिपुत्रान् निर्गतः। अनुव्रजित्वा निवर्तमानः कुनालं कण्ठे परिष्वज्य नयनं[22] निरीक्षमाणः प्ररुदन्नुवाच[23]।

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[1]Chl reads: "Kunāla replied by reciting the following *gāthā*:" [2]MSS. *mā tu*. [3]Chl °*bhāve*. [4]Chl *kāmavaśībhūtena*. [5]ABD add: *mama*. [5–6]Chl "He who destroys the Way of the human beings and gods is blamed by the sages. (*svargasya martasya ca dharmalopo yato bhavati jīvitena kiṁ budhadhikkṛtena*)" [7]Chl adds: *gandhārarājye*. [8]Chl adds: *tasya śāsanāya*. [9]Chl °*tum icchati*. [10–11]Chl *deva svayaṁ na gantavyaṁ, kumāreṣu kaścit*. [12]Chl *kumāraṁ kunālaṁ*. [13]Chl *śakṣyasi*. [14]Chl °*rājyaṁ*. [15]Chl *lit.* "to chastise". [16]Chl *śakṣyāmi* ("I can chastise them"). [17–18]Chl "rejoiced and wished that he should go." [18]MSS. *vihāya yā*°. [19]Chl "in the territories of the kingdom". [20]Chl adds: *śavāṁś ca bhikṣukāṁś ca*. [21]Chl describes that the chariot was "decorated with a big fan of feathers." [22]MSS. *kunālakaṇṭhe … nirīkṣyamānaḥ*. [22–23]Chl *prārodīt. sutaṁ ca nirīkṣamāṇa uvāca*.

धन्यानि तस्य[१] चक्षूंषि चक्षुष्मन्तश्च ते जनाः ।
सततं ये कुमारस्य द्रक्ष्यन्ति मुखपङ्कजं[२] ।।

यावन् नैमित्तिको ब्राह्मणः पश्यति[३] कुमारस्य न चिरान् नयनविनाशो भविष्यति । स च राजाऽशोकस्तस्य नयनेष्वत्यर्थमनुषक्तः । दृष्ट्वा च कथयति[४] ।

नृपात्मजस्य[५] नयने विशुद्धे महीपतिश्चाप्यनुरक्तमस्य ।
श्रिया विवृद्धे हि सुखानुकूले पश्यामि नेत्रेऽद्य विनश्यमाने[६] ।।
इदं पुरं स्वर्ग[७] इव[७] प्रहृष्टं कुमारसंदर्शनजातहर्षं[८] ।
पुरं विपन्ने नयने तु तस्य भविष्यते शोकपरीतचेतः[९] ।।

अनुपूर्वेण तक्षशिलामनुप्राप्तः[१०] । श्रुत्वा च तक्षशिलापौरा अर्धत्रिकाणि[११] योजनानि[११] मार्गशोभां[११] नगरशोभां च कृत्वा पूर्णकुम्भैः[१२] प्रत्युद्गताः । वक्ष्यति[१३] च ।

श्रुत्वा तक्षशिलापौरो[१४] रत्नपूर्णघटादिकान्[१५] ।
गृह्य प्रत्युज्जगामाशु बहुमान्य[१६]नृपात्मजं ।।

प्रत्युद्गम्य कृताञ्जलिरुवाच । न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा न राज्ञोऽशोकस्य । अपि तु दुष्टात्मानोऽमात्या आगत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति[१७] । यावत्[१८] कुनालो महता सम्मानेन[१९] तक्षशिलां प्रवेशितः ।

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[1]*teṣu* ? *tāni* ? [1–2]Chl *dhanyās te janā ye te cakṣuṣī drakṣyanti* (*lit. draṣṭuṁ śakṣyanti*). [2–3]Chl "Now there was a Brāhmaṇa who drew a horoscope and said..." [3]MSS. omit it. [4]MSS. °*manuśakto dṛṣṭvā*°. [4–6]Chl reads: "The king likes the eyes of his son, but they will certainly be destroyed before long." [5]MSS. °*pātmakasya*. [7]Chl omits it. MSS. °*rgam iva*. [8]Chl *kumāranayanadarśana*°. [9]MSS. *bhaviṣyati . . . cetāḥ*. Chl reads this *śloka lit.* thus: "At present there is none who does not rejoice in seeing the eyes of this young man. Later on, if they are destroyed, that would be a universal grief." [10]MSS. °*prāpte*. [11]Chl omits. [12]Chl "carrying vessels of perfumes (*gandhaghaṭaiḥ*) as a sign of submission". [13]Chl adds: "They came to meet him to a distance of half a *yojana*." [14]MSS. °*rā*. [15]MSS. °*ṭodikāṁ*. [16]MSS. °*mānyā*. The *śloka* is not found in Ch. [17]Chl "We are rebellious only to the wicked ministers who are close to the king." [18]Chl *prabhūtaprābhṛtārpitaḥ*. [19]MSS. *sanmā*°.

राज्ञश्चाशोकस्य महान् व्याधिरुत्पन्नः। तस्य मुखादुच्चारो[१] निर्गन्तुमारब्धः। सर्वरोमकूपेभ्यश्चाशुचि[२] प्रघरति न च शक्यते चिकित्सितुं। ततो राज्ञाऽभिहितं[३]। कुनालमानयत राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यामीति[४]। किं ममेदृशेन जीवितेन प्रयोजनं।

श्रुत्वा च तिष्यरक्षिता[५] चिन्तयति। यदि कुनालं राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापयिष्यति नास्ति मम जीवितं। [६]तयाऽभिहितं। अहं त्वा[७] स्वस्थं करिष्यामि किं तु वैद्यानां प्रवेशः प्रतिषिध्यतां। यावद् राज्ञा वैद्यानां प्रवेशः प्रतिषिद्धः। ततस्तिष्यरक्षितया वैद्यानामभिहितं। यदि कश्चिदीदृशेन व्याधिना स्पृष्टः स्त्री वा पुरुषो वाऽगच्छति मम[८] दर्शयितव्यः[८]।

अन्यतमश्चाभीर[९]स्तादृशेनैव व्याधिना स्पृष्टः। तस्य पत्न्या वैद्याय [१०]व्याधिर्निवेदितः। वैद्येनाभिहितं। [११]स एवागच्छत्वातुरो व्याधिं दृष्ट्वा भैषज्यमुपदेक्ष्यामि[१२]। यावदाभीरो[१३] वैद्यसकाशमभिगतः[१४]। वैद्येन च तिष्यरक्षितायाः समीपमुपनीतः। ततस्तिष्यरक्षितया प्रतिगुप्ते[१५] प्रदेशे[१५] जीविताद् व्यपरोपितः। जीविताद् व्यपरोप्य कुक्षिं पाटयित्वा पश्यति च तस्य पक्वाशयस्थानं[१६]। अन्त्रायां[१७] कृमिर्महान् प्रादुर्भूतः। स यद्यूर्ध्वं गच्छति तेनाशुचि[१८] प्रघरति। अथाधो गच्छत्यधः प्रघरति[१९]। यावत् तत्र मरिचान् पेषयित्वा दत्तो[२०] न च [स] म्रियते। एवं पिप्पलीं[२१] शृङ्गवेरं च। विस्तरेण यावत् पलाण्डुं दत्तः। स्पृष्टश्च

[1]ABC °*ccāraṁ*. D °*ccāra*. [2]*Cf*. Pali *asucika* (n.). [3]Ch1 "The king ordered the high dignitaries." [4]Ch1 adds: "I shall die before long." [5]Ch1 adds: *rājño'gramahiṣī*. [6]Ch1 adds: "and this is the means which she employed." MSS. *pratiṣṭhāsyati nāsti*... [7]MSS. *te*. [8]Ch1 *lit*. "Mind you do not cure him (or her); in any case, bring him (or her) to me." [9]Ch1 omits *ābhīra*. Ch2 "a man of *ābhīra-rājya*". [10]Ch1 "said, 'my husband has this disease.'" [11]MSS. °*hitaḥ sa*. [11–12]Ch1 "Go and fetch him, I shall cure him." [13]Ch1 *āturo*. [14]Ch1 °*sakāśaṁ tayānītaḥ*. [15]Ch1 omits. [16]MSS. °*ne*. [17]W.r. for *antra* or *āntra*(n.). [18]Ch1 adds: *ūrdhvaṁ* (*lit*. "by that side"). MSS. *aśuciṁ*. [19]Ch2 adds: "When (the worm) went to the right or left, an impure liquid flowed through all the pores of the skin (*sarvaromakūpebhyaḥ*)." [20]MSS. *pīṣayitvā dattaṁ*. [21]MSS. °*lī*. Ch1 reads:

मृत उच्चारमार्गेण[1] निर्गतः। [2]एतच्च प्रकरणं तया राज्ञे निवेदितं। देव पलाण्डुं परिभुंक्ष्व स्वास्थ्यं भविष्यति[3]। राजाऽह। देवि[4], अहं क्षत्रियः कथं पलाण्डुं परिभक्षयामि। देव्युवाच[5]। देव, परिभोक्तव्यं जीवितस्यार्थे भैषज्यमेतत्[6]।

राज्ञा परिभुक्तं। स च क्रमिर्मृत उच्चारमार्गेण निर्गतः। स्वस्थीभूतश्च राजा। तेन[7] परितुष्टेन तिष्यरक्षिता वरेण प्रवारिता[8]। किं ते वरं प्रयच्छामि। तयाऽभिहितं। सप्ताहं मम देवो राज्यं प्रयच्छतु। राजाऽह[9]। अहं को भविष्यामि। देव्युवाच। सप्ताहस्यात्ययाद् देव एव राजा भविष्यति[10]।

यावद् राज्ञा तिष्यरक्षितायाः सप्ताहं राज्यं दत्तं। तस्या बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना[11]। इदानीं मयास्य कुनालस्य वैरं निर्यातयितव्यं। तया [12]कपटलेखो लिखितस्तक्षशिलकानां पौराणां। कुनालस्य[13] नयनं विनाशयितव्यमिति। आह च[14]।

राजा ह्यशोको बलवान् प्रचण्ड आज्ञापयत्तक्षशिलाजनं हि।
उद्धार्यतां लोचनमस्य शत्रोर्मौर्यस्य वंशस्य कलङ्क एषः[15]।।

राज्ञोऽशोकस्य यत्र कार्यमाशु परिप्राप्यं भवति [स] [16]दन्तमुद्रया मुद्रयति। यावत् तिष्यरक्षिता शयितस्य राज्ञस्तं लेखं दन्तमुद्रया मुद्रयिष्यामीति राज्ञः सकाशमभिगता[17]। राजा च भीतः प्रतिबुद्धः।

"She used all kinds of pungent things and gave them to the worm but it was not killed."

[1]Chl "by the inferior ways". [2–3]Chl "For that reason, the queen advised the king to eat onion." [4]AB *devim.* [5–6]Chl "Tiṣya° said to the king for the second time, 'You must eat it, in order to be cured.'" [7–8]Chl reads: "He said to Tiṣya°..." [9–10]Chl omits. [11]Chl reads: "Tiṣya° having obtained his consent said to herself..." [12]Chl omits *kapaṭa.* It reads: *ittham.* MSS. *niryātitavyam. tayā.* [13–14]Chl omits. [15]Chl reads this *śloka* as: "Pluck out the eyes of Kunāla, for he has committed a great crime. Promptly pluck out his eyes. King Aśoka is very strict. Don't delay; that will be disobeying the king." [15–17]Chl "In order to have successful results, it was necessary to seal the writing with the teeth of the king, in the time of sealing it up. Tiṣya° waited till the king was asleep and wished to seal the edict." Then it reads: *rājā ca sahasā bhītaḥ°.* [16]D *bhadra°.*

देवी कथयति। किमिदमिति[1]। राजा कथयति। देवि स्वप्नं मेऽशोभनं दृष्टं। पश्यामि द्वौ गृध्रौ[2] कुनालस्य नयनमुत्पाटयितुमिच्छतः। [3]देवी कथयति। स्वास्थ्यं कुमारस्येति[4]। एवं द्विरपि राजा भीतः[5] प्रतिबुद्धः कथयति। देवि स्वप्नो मे न शोभनो दृष्ट इति। तिष्यरक्षिता कथयति। कीदृशः स्वप्न इति। राजाऽह। पश्यामि कुनालं दीर्घकेशनखश्मश्रुं[6] पौरं प्रविष्टं[7]। देव्याह। स्वास्थ्यं कुमारस्येति[8]।

यावत्[9] तिष्यरक्षितया राज्ञः शयितस्य स लेखो दन्तमुद्रया मुद्रयित्वा तक्षशिलां प्रेषितः। यावद् राज्ञा शयितेन स्वप्ने दृष्टं दन्ता विशीर्णाः[10]।

ततो राजा तस्या एव रात्रेरत्यये नैमित्तिकान् आहूय कथयति। कीदृश एषां स्वप्नानां विपाक इति। नैमित्तिकाः कथयन्ति। देव य ईदृशस्वप्नानि पश्यति [11]तस्य पुत्रस्य चक्षुर्भेदो भवति[12]। आह च।

दन्ता यस्य विशीर्यन्ते स्वप्नान्ते प्रपतन्ति च।
चक्षुर्भेदं च पुत्रस्य पुत्रनाशं स पश्यति[13]॥

श्रुत्वा च राजाऽशोकस् [14]त्वरितमुत्थायासनात्[15] कृताञ्जलिश्चतुर्दिशं देवतां[16] याचयितुमारब्धः। आह च[17]।

या देवता शास्तुरभिप्रसन्ना धर्मे च सङ्घे च गणप्रधाने।
ये[18] चापि लोके ऋषयो वरिष्ठा[19] रक्षन्तु तेऽस्मत्तनयं कुनालं॥

[1]Chl *katham sahasā pratibuddho'si.* [2]Chl adds: *sutasya me.* [3–4]Chl "uttering these words he was asleep." [4]MSS. *svāstham kumā°.* [5]Chl *sahasā.* [6]MSS. *°śru.* [7]MSS. *°ṣṭaḥ.* [6–7]Chl *dīrgha-śmaśrum bhūmāv āsinam.* [8]Chl "Sleep peacefully; who will do harm to the prince?" MSS. *svastham kumā°.* [9–10]Chl "The king was asleep. The queen sealed the edict with the teeth of the king (See Notes). She ordered a messenger to carry the edict which prescribed to the people of Takṣaśilā to pluck out the eyes of Kunāla. The king had a dream again. He dreamt that his teeth fell off." [10]MSS. *vistīrṇāḥ.* [11–12]MSS. omit. We have adopted it from the Chl which reads: "The diviners made this prediction: 'Such a dream certainly presages that the son of the king will lose his eyes.'" [12–13]Chl omits. [14–15]Chl omits. [16–17]Chl *yā devatā buddhadharmam rakṣanti tāḥ pūjayati.* [18–19]Chl omits.

स च लेखोऽनुपूर्वेण तक्षशिलामुपनीतः। [1]अथ तक्षशिलाः पौरजानपदा लेखदर्शनात् कुनालस्य गुणविस्तरतुष्टा नोत्सहन्ते तदप्रियं निवेदितुं। चिरं विचारयित्वा चण्डो राजा दुःशीलः स्वपुत्रस्य न मर्षयति प्रागेवास्माकं [किं] मर्षयति। आह च[2]।

मुनिवृत्तस्य शान्तस्य[3] सर्वभूतहितैषिणः।
[4]यस्य द्वेषः कुमारस्य कस्य नास्य भविष्यति[5]॥

तैर्यावत् कुनालस्य निवेदितं। लेखश्चोपनीतः। ततः कुनालो वाचयित्वा कथयति। विश्रब्धं यथात्मप्रयोजनं क्रियतामिति[6]। यावच् चण्डाला उपनीताः कुनालस्य नयनम् उत्पाटयतेति[7]। ते च कृताञ्जलिपुटा ऊचुः। नोत्सहयामः[8]। कुतः।

यो हि चन्द्रमसः कान्तिं मोहादभ्युद्धरेन् नरः।
स चन्द्रसदृशाद् वक्त्रात् तव नेत्रे समुद्धरेत्॥

ततः कुमारेण मकुटं दत्तम्। अनया दक्षिणयोत्पाटयत[9] इति[9]। तस्य तु कर्मणाऽवश्यं विपक्तव्यं[10]। पुरुषो हि विकृत-

[1–2]Chl reads: "The inhabitants of the town loved and respected the Dharma and the Saṅgha. So great was their humaneness and their generosity that there was none to show the royal order (to Kunāla). They resolved thus: 'If the king has no mercy for his son, how can he love and spare us, we who are his subjects?' " [2–3]Chl "He wishes to succour all. He is profoundly moderate and reconciling. He has neither arrogance nor outrage." (Chl reads this as the second *pāda* of the *śloka.*) [4–5]Chl "If having such a son the king wants to destroy him, then what are *we* to him?" [5]MSS. *kasyānyasya*°. [6]Chl reads these four sentences as: "It is but after hiding the edict for a long time that they showed it to Kunāla. He having received it gave credit to what it contained and said: 'Let it be done as you wish to do; pluck out my eyes.' But none was found to pluck them out." [7]MSS. °*yatheti*. [8]BC *notsāha*°. [7–9]Chl "The Caṇḍālas refused. They said: 'We shall better destroy our own eyes. How can we destroy eyes like these.' Thereupon, a precious crown which was worth a hundred thousand ounces of gold was taken up and given to the Caṇḍālas, on condition that they will pluck out the eyes. But the Caṇḍālas refused as before." Ch2, following the text, says that Kunāla gave the crown. [10]MSS. *karmaṇo . . . ttavyaṁ.*

8

रूपोऽष्टादशभिर्दौर्वर्णिकैः[1] समन्वागतोऽभ्यागतः। [2]स कथयति। अहमुत्पाटयिष्यामीति। यावत् कुनालस्य समीपं नीतः। तस्मिंश्च समये[3] कुनालस्य स्थविराणां [4]वचनमामुखीभूतं। स [5]तद् वचनमनुस्मृत्योवाच।

इमां विपत्तिं विज्ञाय तैरुक्तं तत्त्ववादिभिः।
पश्यानित्यमिदं सर्वं नास्ति कश्चिद् ध्रुवे स्थितः॥
कल्याणमित्रास्ते मह्यं सुखकामा हितैषिणः।
यैरयं देशितो धर्मो वीतक्लेशैर्महात्मभिः॥
अनित्यतां[6] संपरिपश्यतो मे गुरूपदेशान् मनसि प्रकुर्वतः।
उत्पाटनेऽहं न बिभेमि सौम्य नेत्रद्वयस्यास्थिरतां हि पश्ये[7]॥
उत्पाट्यें[8] वा न वा नेत्रे यथा वा मन्यते नृपः।
गृहीतसारं चक्षुर्मे ह्यनित्यादिभिराश्रयैः॥

ततः कुनालस् तं[9] पुरुषमुवाच। तेन हि भोः पुरुष एकं तावन् नयनम् उत्पाट्य मम हस्तेऽनुप्रयच्छ। यावत्[10] स पुरुषः कुनालस्य नयनमुत्पाटयितुं प्रवृत्तः। ततोऽनेकानि प्राणिशतसहस्राणि विक्रोष्टुमारब्धानि[11]। कष्टं भोः।

[1]BCD °*vaṇikais*, A °*viṇikais*. [2–3]Chl reads: "to beg to pluck out the eyes. Seeing him...". [4]Chl adds: *cakṣuṣo'nityatāvācakaṁ*. [5]MSS. *taṁ*. [6–7]Chl "and he made this reflection: 'He has seen indeed that I am to lose my eyes in retribution of my (past) actions. That is why he uttered these words. He is indeed a beneficent friend (*kalyāṇamitra*) of mine. It is in compassion for me that he deigned to give me his advice, wishing that on the day when I receive the retribution, my mind may not be afraid. Besides, the Sthavira, formerly gave me these instructions: '(all the) three kinds of creatures are impermanent. They are unstable and changing like the empty illusions. I have since long distinguished (on you) the sign of blindness. You must establish yourself on the Law.'" [6]MSS. °*tyataḥ*. [8]Chl omits this *śloka*. MSS. *utpāte*. [9]Chl adds: *vikṛta-rūpaṁ*. [10–11]Chl "Then the deformed man at once approached Kunāla with an intention of plucking out his eyes. He plucked out (one eye) and put it on Kunāla's palm. All the persons present there cried loudly in horror and said...."

एष[1] हि निर्मल[2]ज्योत्स्नो[3] गगनात् पतते शशी।
पुण्डरीकवनाच्चापि[4] श्रीमानुत्पाटयते[5]ऽम्बुजः॥

[6]तेषु प्राणिशतसहस्रेषु रुदत्सु कुनालस्यैव नयनमुत्पाट्य हस्ते दत्तं। ततः कुनालस्तन्नयनं गृह्योवाच।

रूपाणि कस्मान्न निरीक्षसे त्वं यथा पुरा प्राकृतमांसपिण्ड[7]।
ते वञ्चितास्ते च विगर्हणीया आत्मेति ये त्वामबुधाः श्रयन्ते[8]॥
सामग्र्यकं बुर्बुदसन्निकाशं सुदुर्लभं[9] निर्विषयाऽस्वतन्त्रं[10]।
एवं प्रवीक्षन्ति[11] सदाऽप्रमत्ता ये[12] त्वां न ते दुःखमनुप्रयान्ति[13]॥
एवं [14]चिन्तयता तेन [15]सर्वभावेष्वनित्यतां।
स्रोतापत्तिफलं[16] प्राप्तं [17]जनकायस्य पश्यतः[18]॥

ततः कुनालो [19]दृष्टसत्यस्तं पुरुषमुवाच। इदानीं द्वितीयं विश्रब्धं नयनमुत्पाट्यतां। यावत्तेन पुरुषेण कुनालस्य द्वितीयं नयनमुत्पाट्य हस्ते दत्तं[20]। अथ कुनालो मांसचक्षुषि उद्धृते [21]प्रज्ञाचक्षुषि च विशुद्धे कथयति।

उद्धृतं मांसचक्षुर्मे यद्यप्येतत् सुदुर्लभं[22]।
प्रज्ञाचक्षु[23]र्विशुद्धं मे प्रतिलब्धम् अनिन्दितं[23]॥

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[1]MSS. °*ṣā*. Chl *sahasā*. [2]MSS. °*lā*. [3]MSS. °*tsnā*. [2–3]Chl reads *lit.* "pure and luminous". [4]Chl omits this *pāda*. [5]Chl *lit.* *vinaśyati*. MSS. *śrīmann utpāṭyate'mbujaṁ*. [6–7]Chl "All the myriads and *koṭis* of people wept; and they could not overcome their grief. Thereupon, Kunāla contemplated on the eye which was in his hand and made this reflection: *dhig idaṁ nayanaṁ. rūpaṁ kathaṁ nekṣasi? ramyam āsīḥ purā 'dhunā prākṛta-māṁsapiṇḍaḥ.*" [8]Chl reads this line: *abudhā mohitās tvayā*. MSS. *tāṁ abudhāḥ śrayante. sāmagrajaṁ*. Chl adds: "It was said that for the cause of that which is within you (eye) I excited an unruly passion. In fact, you are but the delusive product of the multitude of causes. To speak the truth, the eye exists by no means. You resemble a bubble on the surface of the water (*budbudasannikāśaṁ*)." [9–10]Chl omits. [10]MSS. *nirviṣam a°*. [11]MSS. °*viṣya*°. [12–13]Chl "They are liberated from life and death." [14]MSS. *anuvici°*. [15]Chl omits this *pāda*. [16]MSS. *śrotāphalaṁ*. [17–18]Chl "He could see the (four-fold noble) Truth." [19]Chl *vikṛta-rūpaṁ*. [20]Chl adds: "Kunāla contemplated on that eye again and attained the state of *sakṛdāgāmin*." [21]Chl *lit.* *dharmacakṣus* ('eye of the Law'). [22]Chl omits this *pāda*. [23]Chl omits it.

परित्यक्तो[१] नृपतिना यद्यहं पुत्रसंज्ञया[२]।
धर्मराजस्य पुत्रत्वमुपेतोऽस्मि महात्मनः ।।
ऐश्वर्याद् यद्यहं भ्रष्टः शोकदुःखनिबन्धनाद्[३]।
धर्मैश्वर्यमवाप्तं मे दुःखशोकविनाशनं ।।

यावत् कुनालेन श्रुतं नायं तातस्याशोकस्य आदेशः[४]। अपि तु तिष्यरक्षिताया अयं प्रयोग[५] इति। श्रुत्वा च कुनालः कथयति।

चिरं सुखं [६]तिष्ठतु तिष्यनाम्नी आयुर्बलं[७] पालयतां च देवी।
[८]संप्रेषितोयं हि यया प्रयोगो यस्यानुभावेन कृतः स्वकार्थः[९]।।

ततः काञ्चनमालया श्रुतं कुनालस्य नयनानि उत्पाटितानीति। श्रुत्वा च भर्तृतया[१०] कुनालसमीपमुपसंक्रम्य [१०]पर्षदमवगाह्य[१०] कुनालमुद्धृतनयनं रुधिरावसिक्तगात्रं दृष्ट्वा[११] मूर्च्छिता भूमौ पतिता। यावज् जलसेकं कृत्वा उत्थापिता।

ततः कथंचित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य सस्वरं प्ररुदती उवाच।

[१२]नेत्राणि कान्तानि मनोहराणि ये मां निरीक्ष्या[१३]जनयन्ति तुष्टिं।
ते मे[१४] विपन्ना ह्यनिरीक्षणीया[१५]स्त्यजन्ति मे प्राणसमाः शरीरं[१६]।।

ततः कुनालो [१७]भार्यामनुनयन्नुवाच। अलं रुदितेन। नार्हसि शोकमाश्रयितुं[१८]। स्वयंकृतानामिह कर्मणां फलमुपस्थितं। आह[१९] च।

कर्मात्मकं लोकमिदं विदित्वा दुःखात्मकं चापि जनं हि मत्वा[२०]।
मत्वा च लोकं[२१] प्रियविप्रयोगं कर्तुं[२२] प्रिये नार्हसि बाष्पमोक्षं[२३]।।

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[1]MSS. °*tyakto'haṁ*. [1–2]Chl reads this: "forsaken by him who was my father in the series of transmigration". [3]Chl omits this *pāda*. [4]MSS. *karmā*. [5]Chl "forgery". [6]MSS. *caiva sā*. Chl adds: *nirudvegaṁ*. [7]Chl omits *balaṁ*. MSS. *pālayate*. [8–9]Chl "Because she has been the instrument which has destroyed the causes (of transmigration) for my sake and has made me obtain the benefit of the Law." [10]Chl omits. [11]Chl adds: "She uttered a cry of anguish and was at the height of despair." [12]MSS. *prarudantī uvāca*. [12–16]Chl "Those eyes which were guiltless and marvellously beautiful are destroyed and reduced to this state!" [13]MSS. °*rīkṣaṁ jana*°. [14]ABD *tam me*, C *ta me*. [15]MSS. °*nīyaḥ*. [16]MSS. *prāṇasamā śa*°. [17–18]Chl "replied to her by reciting this *gāthā*:" [19–20]Chl omits. [20–21]Chl *paraṁ hi śokaṁ*. [22–23]Chl *lit.* "Get rid of your affliction. What is the good of weeping?"

ततः कुनालो भार्यया सह तक्षशिलाया निष्कासितः। स गर्भाधानमुपादाय[1] परमसुकुमारशरीरः। न किञ्चिद् उत्सहते कर्म कर्तुं[2]। केवलं वीणां वादयति। गायति च। ततो[3] भैक्ष्यं लभते कुनालः[4] पत्न्या सह भुंक्ते[5]।

[6]ततः काञ्चनमाला येन मार्गेण पाटलिपुत्रादानीता तमेव मार्गमनुसरन्ती भर्तृद्वितीया पाटलिपुत्रं गता[7]। यावदशोकस्य गृहमारब्धा प्रवेष्टुं। द्वारपालेन च निवारितौ। यावद्[8] राज्ञोऽशोकस्य यानशालायामवस्थितौ[9]।

ततः कुनालो रात्र्याः प्रत्यूषसमये वीणां वादयितुमारब्धः। यथा[10] नयनान्युत्पाटितानि सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं तदनुरूपं हितं च गीतं प्रारब्धं। आह च।

चक्षुरादीनि यः प्राज्ञः पश्यत्यायतनानि च।
ज्ञानदीपेन शुद्धेन स संसाराद् विमुच्यते॥
यदि तव भवदुःखपीडिता भवति च[11] दोषविनिश्चिता मतिः।
सुखमिह च यदीच्छसि ध्रुवं त्वरितमिहायतनानि संत्यज[12]॥

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[1]Chl *tau dampatī ājanma*. MSS. *garbhādānam u°*. [1–2]Chl "lived happily. They had not the strength to apply themselves to toilsome occupations, such as, either to carry loads or to labour." [3]Chl adds: *jīvikāyai* ("to earn livelihood"). D *bhaiṣajyaṁ*. [4–5]Chl omits. [6–7]Chl "After a good many changes of direction they approached the town of Pāṭaliputra. Arriving at the gate of the royal palace...". [8–9]Chl "Kunāla passed the night in the stable of elephants attached to the gate (of the palace)." [9]MSS. *śayana-śālā°*. [10–12]Chl "He related, in accompaniment of the *vīṇā*, his grandeur as well as his misfortune and how he had found the Way, on account of his eyes being plucked out. Those who were near the gate, listened to him. They concentrated themselves on themselves (and saw in them) the union of attributes (*skandha*). All of them obtained escape (liberation) from the misfortune of transmigration. The king having heard the familiar voice and the sound of the *vīṇā* said: 'The sound of this *vīṇā* resembles the sound of the instrument of Kunāla. This song relates the good fortune as well as the misfortune. This is as well a song of someone who has built up his own greatness.'" [11]MSS. omit it. [12]MSS. add *sva*.

[१]तस्य गीतशब्दो राज्ञाऽशोकेन श्रुतः । श्रुत्वा च प्रीतमना उवाच ।

गीतं कुनालेन मयि प्रसक्तं वीणास्वरश्चैव[२] श्रुतश्चिरेण ।
अभ्यागतोऽपीह[३] गृहं नु कञ्चिन् न चेच्छति द्रष्टुमयं कुमारः ।।

अथ राजाऽशोकोऽन्यतमपुरुषमाहूयोवाच[४] । पुरुष लक्ष्यते ।

न खल्वेष किं गीतस्य कुनालसदृशो ध्वनिः ।
कर्मण्यधैर्यतां चैव सूचयन्निव लक्ष्यते[४] ।।
तदनेनास्मि शब्देन धैर्यादाकम्पितो भृशं[५] ।
कलभस्येव नष्टस्य प्रनष्टकलभः करी ।।

[६]गच्छ कुनालमानयस्वेति । यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गतः । पश्यति कुनालम् उद्धृतनयनं[७] वातातपपरिदग्धगात्रमप्रत्यभिज्ञाय च[८] राजानमशोकम् अभिगम्योवाच । देव न[९] ह्येष कुनालः[१०] । अन्धक एष वनीपकः[११] पत्न्या सह देवस्य[१२] यानशालायाम्[१३] अवस्थितः । श्रुत्वा च राजा संविग्नश्चिन्तयामास । [१४]यथा मया स्वप्नान्यशोभनानि दृष्टानि[१५] नियतं कुनालस्य नयनानि विनष्टानि भविष्यन्ति[१६] । आह च ।

स्वप्नान्तरे निमित्तानि यथा दृष्टानि मे पुरा ।
निःसंशयं कुनालस्य नेत्रे वै निधनं गते ।।

ततो राजा प्ररुदन्नुवाच[१७] ।

शीघ्रमानीयतामेष मत्समीपं[१२] वनीपकः[१३] ।
न हि मे शाम्यते[१८] चेतः सुतव्यसनचिन्तया[१९] ।।

यावत् पुरुषो यानशालां गत्वा कुनालमुवाच[२०] । कस्य त्वं पुत्रः । किं च नाम । कुनालः प्राह ।

[1–4]Chl : *cf.* p. 117. [2]MSS. °*svaraṁ caiva śruti*°. *ciraṁ śruto me?* [3]ABC °*gataś ceha*. AC *gṛhaṁ na*. [5]Chl *lit.* "The strength of my mind is failing me." [6–8]Chl "He ordered some persons to go to see. They saw Kunāla deprived of his eye-sight, lean and sun-burnt; and (so) could not recognize him." [7]MSS. °*yanavā*°. [9–10]Chl omits. [10]A *andhala*, BC °*dhalaka*. [11]Chl adds : "lean and sun-burnt". ABC °*pagaḥ*. [12–13]Chl omits. [14–17]Chl "Formerly, I have seen in dream my son Kunāla with eyes lost. Is it not he?" [15]MSS. *dṛṣṭvā*. [16]AB °*ti*. [18]D *śāsyate*. [19]Chl *sutānusmaraṇān mama*. [19–20]Chl "Then he sent some persons who went again to the stable of elephants and asked the blind man..."

अशोको नाम राजाऽसौ मौर्याणां[1] कुलवर्धनः[2]।
कृत्स्नेयं पृथिवी यस्य वशे वर्तति किंकर[3]।।
तस्य राज्ञस्त्वहं पुत्रः कुनाल इति विश्रुतः।
धार्मिकस्य[4] तु पुत्रोऽहं बुद्धस्य आदित्यबान्धवः[5]।।

ततः कुनालः[6] पत्न्या सह राज्ञोऽशोकस्य समीपमानीतः। अथ राजाऽशोकः [पश्यति] कुनालमुद्धृतनयनं वातातपपरिदग्धगात्रं [7]रथ्याचोडकसंघातप्रत्यवरेण वाससा लक्ष्यालक्ष्यप्रच्छादितकौपीनं[8]। स तमप्रत्यभिज्ञाय आकृतिमात्रकं दृष्ट्वा कथयति। त्वं कुनाल इति। कुनालः प्राह। एवं देव कुनालोऽस्मीति। श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छितो[9] भूमौ पतितः। [10]वक्ष्यति हि।

ततः कुनालस्य मुखं निरीक्ष्य नेत्रोद्धृतं[11] शोकपरीतचेताः।
राजा ह्यशोकः पतितो धरण्यां हा पुत्र शोकेन हि दह्यमानः[12]।।

यावज् जलपरिषेकं कृत्वा [13]राजानमुत्थापयित्वाऽसने निषादितः[14]। अथ राजा [15]कथञ्चित् संज्ञामुपलभ्य[16] कुनालमुत्सङ्गे स्थापयामास। [10]वक्ष्यति हि।

ततो मुहूर्तं नृप आश्वसित्वा कण्ठे परिष्वज्य रसाश्रुकण्ठः[12]।
मुहुः कुनालस्य मुखं प्रमृज्य बहूनि राजा विललाप तत्र।।
नेत्रे कुनालप्रतिमे विलोक्य सुतं कुनालेति पुरा बभाषे।
तदस्य नेत्रे निधनं गते ते पुत्रं [17]कुनालेति कथं च वक्ष्ये[18]।।

आह च।

कथय कथय साधुपुत्र[19] तावद्
वदनमिदं तव केन[20] चारुनेत्रं[19]।

1–2Chl *jambudvīpasya śāsakaḥ*. 3MSS. °*karā*. 4Chl *dharmarājasya ca*. 5Chl omits *ādi*°. 6Chl *andhaḥ*. 7MSS. *rathyām codaka* (D *codaka*) *saṁhāta*°. 7–8Chl reads: "skinny; the dresses in tatters". 8Chl adds: "a man with a miserable aspect". ACD °*pīnaḥ*, B *kāpinaḥ*. MSS. *sa tam a*°; is it for *santam a*°? 9Chl "exhausted by suffering". ABD *ākṛtimātraṁkaṁ*, C °*gātrakaṁ*. 10–12Chl omits. 11MSS. °*te*. 13–14Chl *samāśvāsitaḥ*. 15–16Chl *pariṣvajya*. 17MSS. *putra*. 17–18Chl *lit.* "What name is to be given to you?" 19Chl omits. 20MSS. omit it.

गगनमिव विपन्नचन्द्रतारं[1]
व्यपगतशोभम्[2] अनीक्षकं कृतं ते ॥
[3]अकरुणहृदयेन तेन तात
मुनिसदृशस्य न साधु साधुबुद्धेः[4]।
नरवरनयनेष्ववैरवैरं
प्रकृतमिदं मम भूरिशोकमूलं ॥
वद सुवदन क्षिप्रमेतदर्थं
व्रजति[5] शरीरमिदं पुरा विनाशं।
तव नयनविनाशशोकदग्धं
वनमिव नागविमुक्तवज्रदग्धं[6] ॥

ततः कुनालः पितरं[2] प्रणिपत्य[2] उवाच।
राजन्नतीतं[7] खलु नैव शोच्यं
किं न श्रुतं ते मुनिवाक्यम् एतत्।
यत्कर्मभिस्तेऽपि जिना न मुक्ताः
प्रत्येकबुद्धाः [8]सुदृढैस्तथैव ॥
[9]लब्धाफलस्थाश्च पृथग्जनाश्च ये[10]
कृतानि कर्माण्यमृतानि[11] देहिनां।
स्वयं कृतानामिह कर्मणां फलं
कथं तु वक्ष्यामि परैरिदं कृतं[12] ॥

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[1]MSS. °*tāra*. [2]Chl omits. [3–6]Chl "Who, with a pityless heart, has destroyed your eyes? Who has made your eyes a source of misfortune for the rest of my days? Kunāla, my son, who wished that your eyes be reduced to this state? Be quick! Tell me who he is. Seeing you with a feeble and languid body, grief consumes my body and soul and destroys them entirely, as if they had been struck by a thunder-bolt." [4]MSS. °*ddhe*. [5]AB *prajati*. [7]Chl °*nna kopyaṁ*. [8]Chl *śrāvakās tathaiva*. [9–12]Chl "as well as the common people must receive the retribution of their actions without which none of them can escape. Good or evil actions are never destroyed (*kṛtāni karmāṇi amṛtāni dehinām*). I must not do harm to others for the actions which I have committed myself." [10]MSS. omit *ye*. [11]MSS. °*ṇy aśubhā*°.

[1]अहमेव महाराज कृतापराधश्च सापराधश्च । विनिवर्तयामि योऽहं विनयामि विपत्तिजननानि[1] ।

न शस्त्रवज्राग्निविषाणि पन्नगाः
कुर्वन्ति पीडां रभसापकारिणः[2] ।
शरीरलक्ष्ये[3] हि धृते हि[4] पार्थिव
पतन्ति दुःखान्यशिवानि देहिनां[5] ।।

अथ राजा शोकाग्निना संतापितहृदय उवाच ।

[6]केनोद्धृतानि नयनानि सुतस्य मह्यं
को जीवितं सुमधुरं त्यजितुं व्यवस्तः ।
शोकानलो[7] निपतितो हृदये प्रचण्डः
आचक्ष्व पुत्र लघु कस्य हरामि दण्डं ।।

यावद् राज्ञाऽशोकेन श्रुतं तिष्यरक्षिताया अयं प्रयोग इति । श्रुत्वा[8] राजा तिष्यरक्षितामाहूयोवाच ।

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[1]Chl omits this. [2]MSS. *nabhaso'vikāriṇaḥ*. The MSS. reading is modified with the help of the Chinese reading ("hostile and cruel"). [3]MSS. °*kṣyeṇa*. [4]MSS. *dhṛtena*. [3–5]Chl reads: "These are not the ills caused by plagues that come to afflict my body. These are my past actions, the retribution of which I receive now. To make others suffer (on account of this) will be a great injustice. Every creature who has a body resembles a target which receives a multitude of arrows." [6–8]Chl "'Who is the creature devoid of love that has taken away from you the eyes while you are living!' Kunāla said, 'That is you, my father who have ordered to pluck them out.' The king said, 'If I have ordered anybody to pluck out your eyes, I shall cut off my tongue.' Kunāla said, 'My father, the edict was sealed with your teeth.' The king said, 'If I have sealed it with my teeth I shall pluck out my teeth. If my eyes have seen it, I shall pluck out my eyes.' Tiṣyarakṣitā having called the queen Padmāvatī, said to her: 'Pluck out my eyes now. I go to beg together with my son to earn my livelihood.' These words had reached the ears of the king; he reflected thus: 'Tiṣyarakṣitā has certainly caused to pluck out the eyes of my son.'" This paragraph which relates how Aśoka came to know the culprit, is not found in Ch2. [7]MSS. °*nale*.

कथं ह्यधन्ये[1] न निमज्जसे क्षितौ
[2]छेत्तास्मि शीर्षं परशुप्रहारितं[3]।
त्यजाम्यहं त्वामतिपापकारिणीम्
अधर्मयुक्तां श्रियमात्मवानिव[4] ।।

ततो राजा क्रोधाग्निना प्रज्वलितस्तिष्यरक्षितां निरीक्ष्योवाच।

[5]उत्पाट्य नेत्रे परिपाटयामि
गात्रं किमस्या[6] नखरैः सुतीक्ष्णैः।
जीवन्तिशूलामथ कारयामि
[7]छेत्तास्मि नासां[7] क्रकचेन वाऽस्याः ।।
क्षुरेण जिह्वामथ कर्तयामि[8]
विषेण पूर्णामिथ घाटयिष्ये।
स [9]एवमित्यादिवधप्रयोगं
बहुप्रकारं ह्यवदन्नरेन्द्रः ।।
श्रुत्वा कुनालः [10]करुणात्मकस्तु
विज्ञापयामास गुरुं महात्मा।
अनार्यकर्मा यदि तिष्यरक्षिता
त्वमार्यकर्मा[11] भव मा वधी[12] स्त्रियं ।।
[13]फलं हि मैत्र्या सदृशं न विद्यते
प्रभो[14] तितिक्षा सुगतेन वर्णिता[15]।

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[1]MSS. *hi dhanye*. Chl adds here: *nṛśaṁse*. [2]MSS. *chinnāmi*. [3]MSS. *prahāraiḥ*. [2–4]Chl reads: "You creature, who destroy the Law! Really I hate you. You who showed a feigned affection to my kith and kins!" [5–6]Chl "You have destroyed the eyes of my son, I am going to tear to pieces the skin of your body." [7]Chl *gātraṁ*. ABC °*sām atikacena*. D °*aticena*. [8]Chl adds: "With a big blunt axe, I shall break your bones. I shall throw your body into the furnace!" MSS. *kṣareṇa jihvām ath* . . . . *pūrṇāmy ath* . . . [9]MSS. *ityevam ādi*°. [10]MSS. *sakāru*°. [11]Chl *lit.* "Tiṣya° has taken as her principle, recourse to the evil ways and so (she has acted) thus. You must now, O king, be guided by the Holy Law." [12]MSS. *vadha*. [13–15]Chl omits. [14]MSS. °*bhos*°.

पुनः प्रणम्य[1] पितरं कुमारः
कृताञ्जलिः सूनृतवाग् जगाद ॥

राजन्न मे दुःखलवो[2]ऽस्ति कश्चित् तीव्रापकारेऽपि न मन्युतापः ।
मनः प्रसन्नं यदि मे जनन्यां ययोद्धृते मे नयने स्वयं हि ।
तत्तेन सत्येन ममास्तु तावन् नेत्रद्वयं प्राक्तनमेव सद्यः ॥

इत्युक्तमात्रे पूर्वाधिकप्रशोभिते नेत्रयुग्मे प्रादुर्बभूवतुः[3] । यावद् राज्ञाऽशोकेन तिष्यरक्षिताऽमर्षितेन [4]जतुगृहं प्रवेशयित्वा दग्धा । तक्षशिलाश्च पौराः प्रघातिताः[5] ।

भिक्षवः[6] संशयजाताः [7]सर्वसंशयच्छेत्तारमायुष्मन्तं[8] स्थविरोपगुप्तं पृच्छति । [9]किं कुनालेन कर्म कृतं यस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन[10] नयनान्युत्पाटितानि ।

स्थविर उवाच । तेन ह्यायुष्मन्तः श्रूयतां[11] ।

भूतपूर्वमतीतेऽध्वनि वाराणस्यामन्यतमो लुब्धकः । स[12] हिमवन्तं गत्वा मृगान् प्रघातयति । सोऽपरेण समयेन हिमवन्तं गतः । तत्र चाशनिपतितानि[13] पञ्चमृगशतानि एकस्यां गुहायां प्रविष्टान्यासादितानि[14] । तेन वागुरया सर्वे गृहीताः[15] । तस्य बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । यदि

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[1]AB °*naśyā*. D °*namyā*. °*śca natvā* ? [2]A *duḥkhalosti*. B °*khamvāsti*. C °*khanosti*. D *duḥkha—vosti*. [1–3]Chl reads: "It is not proper to get angry with the children or with low and unreasonable persons." The miracle of getting the eyes back is neither found in Chl nor in Ch2. [4]MSS. *jantu*°. [3–5]Chl "But the king did not listen to him. A torture-hall (*lit.* a hall of glue, of...) was made and (the queen) was burnt alive. The inhabitants of the town of Takṣaśilā were equally destroyed by fire." [6]Chl adds: *etat sarvaṁ jñātvā*. [7–8]Chl omits. [9–10]Chl *lit. kasmāt kāraṇād adhunā kunālasya*. [11]Chl adds: "I am going to relate it to you." [12–13]Chl "In summer, he lived among the people. In winter, he went to hunt in the mountain. Having approached the snowy mountains (*himavat*) he was caught by a sudden shower of hail-storm." [13]C *ca śeni patitāni*. MSS. omit *pañcamṛgaśatāni*. [14]Chl omits *āsāditāni*. [14–15]Chl omits.

प्रघातयिष्यामि [1]मांसः क्लेदमुपयास्यति[2]। तेन पञ्चानां मृगशताना-मक्षीण्युत्पाटितानि[3]। ते उद्धृतनयना न क्वचित् पलायन्ति। एवं बहूनां मृगशतानां नयनान्युत्पाटितानि।

किं मन्यध्वमायुष्मन्तः[4]। यौऽसौ लुब्धकः स एष कुनालः। [5]यत्तत्रानेन बहूनां मृगशतानां नयनान्युत्पाटितानि तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन बहूनि वर्षशतसहस्राणि नरकेषु दुःखमनुभूय ततः कर्मविशेषेण[6] पञ्च-जन्मशतानि[7] तस्य नयनान्युत्पाटितानि।

[8]किं कर्म कृतं यस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्चे कुले[9] उपपन्नः। प्रासादिकश्च संवृत्तः। सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं।

[10]तेन ह्यायुष्मन्तः श्रूयतां[11]।

भूतपूर्वमतीतेऽध्वनि चत्वारिंशद्वर्षसहस्रायुषि प्रजायां क्रकुच्छन्दो नाम सम्यक्सम्बुद्धो[12] लोक उदपादि।

यदा[13] क्रकुच्छन्दः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धः सकलं बुद्धकार्यं कृत्वा[14] निरुपधिशेषे निर्वाणधातौ परिनिर्वृतः, तस्याऽशोकेन[15] राज्ञा चतूरत्न-मयः स्तूपः कारितः[16]। यदा राजाऽशोकः[17] कालगतोऽश्राद्धो[18] राजा राज्ये[19] प्रतिष्ठितः। तानि रत्नान्यदत्तादायिकैर्हृतानि[20]। पांशुकाष्ठं चावशिष्टं। [21]तत्र जनकायो गत्वा [22]विशीर्णं दृष्ट्वा शोचितु-मारब्धः[23]।

[1]Chl adds here: "all at a time". [2]Chl adds: "I am going to pluck out their eyes and I shall eat a deer every day." [3–4]Chl "Now he has his eyes plucked out due to that (evil) act." [5–6]Chl "since that time till the present day". [7]Chl adds *sarvadā*. [8–9]Chl *punas te 'prcchan katham rājakule*. [10–11]Chl reads: "(Upagupta) replied:" [12]Chl "a Buddha". [13–14]Chl *lit.* "having completed the conversions which he had to do". [15–16]Chl "In that time, there was a king named Gracious (Ch2 "Śobha"), who, in honour of this Buddha, erected a *saptaratnamaya-stūpa* (a *stūpa* of stone decorated with seven precious substances) the site of which was a square of forty *li* obliquely." [16]MSS. °*yaṁ stūpaṁ kāritaṁ*. [17]Chl "Gracious", Ch2 "Śobha". [18]Chl takes it as a proper name ("a king named Aśrāddha"). Ch2 agrees with the text. [19]MSS. *rājyaṁ*. [20]Chl *ratnāni tena hṛtā°*. [21]MSS. *cātra*. [22–23]Chl "wept, expressed regret and anger."

तस्मिंश्च समयेऽन्यतमश्च श्रेष्ठिपुत्रः[१]। तेनोक्तः। किमर्थं रुद्यत इति। तैरभिहितं क्रकुच्छन्दस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्तूपश्चतूरत्नमय[२] आसीत्। [३]स इदानीं विशीर्ण इति।

ततस्तेन या[४] तत्र क्रकुच्छन्दस्य सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य कायप्रमाणिका प्रतिमा बभूव विशीर्णा साभिसंस्कृता[५]। सम्यक्प्रणिधानं च कृतं। यादृशः[६] क्रकुच्छन्दः शास्तेदृशमेव शास्तारमारागयेयं। मा विरागयेयमिति।

किं मन्यध्वमायुष्मन्तः। योऽसौ श्रेष्ठिपुत्रः स एष कुनालः[७]। यत्रानेन क्रकुच्छन्दस्य[८] स्तूपोऽभिसंस्कृतस्तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेनोच्चकुले[९] उपपन्नः। यत् [१०]प्रतिमाऽभिसंस्कृता[११] तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन कुनालः[१२] प्रासादिकः संवृत्तः। यत् प्रणिधानं कृतं तस्य कर्मणो विपाकेन कुनालेन [यादृशः] शाक्यमुनिः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्तादृश एव शास्ता समारागितो न विरागितः। सत्यदर्शनं च कृतं।

इति श्रीदिव्यावदाने[१३] कुनालावदानं सप्तविंशतिमं[१४] समाप्तं ॥

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[1]Chl reads: *kulaputraḥ* ("a son of a good family"). [2]Chl *saptaratnamaya*. MSS. *stūpaṁ catū... mayam ā°*. [3–5]Chl "'Now it has been destroyed by persons who have stolen the seven precious substances and have left nothing but earth and wood (*pāṁśu-kāṣṭha*); and that is why we weep.' Then the *kulaputra* replaced the *saptaratna*, repaired the *stūpa* and decorated it as before. Besides, he made a big statue which resembled exactly the figure of Kraku° Buddha." [4]MSS. *ca*. [6–7]Chl "May I, in future, resemble this Buddha, obtain the supreme deliverance and the excellent Fruit of Purity." [8]Chl adds: *mahārghaḥ*. MSS. *stūpam abhi ... taṁ tasya*. [9]Chl adds: *prabale kule*. [10]Chl adds: *buddha*. [11]Chl *nirmitā*. MSS. *°skṛtā tena*. [12]MSS. *°nāle*. [12–14]Chl "He has obtained the beauty at present. For having made a correct vow (*samyak praṇidhāna*) in the past, he has obtained, at present, the traces of the Way." [13]ABC omit it. [14]ABC *saptāviṁ°*. D omits it.

अशोकावदानं

यदा राज्ञाऽशोकेन[1] भगवच्छासने श्रद्धा प्रतिलब्धा स भिक्षून्[2] उवाच। [3]केन भगवच्छासने प्रभूतं दानं दत्तं। भिक्षव ऊचुः[4]। अनाथपिण्डदेन गृहपतिना। राजाऽह। कियत्तेन भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं। भिक्षव ऊचुः[5]। कोटिशतं तेन भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं। श्रुत्वा च राजाऽशोकश्चिन्तयति[6]। तेन गृहपतिना भूत्वा कोटिशतं भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं[7]। तेनाभिहितं। अहमपि कोटीशतं भगच्छासने दानं दास्यामि[8]।

तेन यावच् चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं[9]। सर्वत्र[10] च शतसहस्राणि दत्तानि। जातौ बोधौ धर्मचक्रे परिनिर्वाणे च सर्वत्र शतसहस्रं दत्तं। पञ्चवार्षिकं कृतं। तत्र च चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि दत्तानि। त्रीणि शतसहस्राणि भिक्षूणां भोजितानि। यत्रैकमर्हतां द्वे शैक्षाणां[11] पृथग्जनकल्याणकानां च। कोषं स्थापयित्वा[12] महापृथिवीमन्तःपुरामात्यगणमात्मानं कुनालं चार्यसङ्घे निर्यातयित्वा [13]चत्वारि शतसहस्राणि दत्त्वा निष्क्रीतवान्[14]। षण्णवतिकोट्यो भगवच्छासने दानं दत्तं। स यावद् ग्लानीभूतः। अथ राजा इदानीं न भविष्यामीति विक्लवीभूतः।

तस्य राधगुप्तो नामामात्यो[15] येन सह पांशुदानं दत्तं। तदा स राजानमशोकं विक्लवीभूतमवेक्ष्य पादयो[16]र्निपत्य[16] कृताञ्जलिरुवाच।

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[1]M8 & Div. add: *ardhāmalakadānena* which Ch omit. [2]Chl reads: *upaguptam*. [3]Chl adds: "When Buddha was in this world." [4]Chl "Upagupta replied:" Chl reads "Sudatta", Ch2 "Anāthapiṇḍada". [5]Chl *upagupta u°*. [6]Chl *uvāca*. [7]Chl adds: *nūnaṁ yuktam eva mayā jambudvīpādhipatinā tāvad dātuṁ*. [8]Chl omits this sentence and the preceding one. Here Chl reads: *mahāpṛthivīm amātyaga . . . niryātitavān*. After this *tena yāvac catur aśīti°*. [9]Chl adds: "as well as the *stūpas* of the *śrāvakas*. He watered the Bodhi-tree." [10–12]Chl omits. [11]M8 & Div. *dvau śi°*. [12–13]Chl: see above. [13–14]Chl omits. [14]M8 *niṣkrata°*. [15]Chl *agrāmātyo yena tasya pāṁśudānam anumoditaṁ*. [16]Chl omits.

यच्छत्रसङ्घैः प्रबलैः समेत्य
नोद्वीक्षितं चण्डदिवाकराभं ।
[1]पद्मानननश्रीशतसंप्रपीतं
कस्मात् सवाष्पं तव देव वक्त्रं[2] ।।

राजाऽह । राधगुप्त, नाहं द्रव्यविनाशं न राज्यनाशनं न चाश्रयवियोगं शोचामि । किन्तु शोचामि, आर्यैर्यद् विप्रयोक्ष्यामि[3] ।

नाहं पुनः सर्वगुणोपपन्नं
सङ्घं समक्षं नरदेवपूजितं ।
संपूजयिष्यामि वरान्नपानैर्
एतद्[4] विचिन्त्याश्रुविमोक्षणं मे[5] ।।

अपि च राधगुप्त, अयं मे मनोरथो बभूव, कोटीशतं भगवच्छासने दानं दास्यामीति । स[6] च मेऽभिप्रायो न परिपूर्णः[6] ।

ततो राज्ञाऽशोकेन चतस्रः[7] कोटीः[7] परिपूरयिष्यामीति[8] हिरण्य-सुवर्णं [9]कुक्कुटारामं प्रेषयितुमारब्धः[10] ।

तस्मिंश्च समये कुनालस्य संपदी[11] नाम पुत्रो युवराज्ये प्रवर्तते । तस्यामात्यैर्[12] अभिहितं । कुमार[13] अशोको राजा स्वल्पकालावस्थायी ।

[1–2]Chl reads: "Only 84000 concubines could look at your face. Now, when you are sick, you resemble the sun that is going to set. All the three worlds undergo changes and transformations. The sentient beings are bound to suffer and die. Let Your Majesty meditate on impermanence. What is the use of getting afflicted?" Div. A *padmānana . . . samprayogaṁ*. [3]M8 & Div. °*yuksyāmi*. [4]M8 & Div. *etaṁ*. [5]Chl omits this *śloka*. [6]Chl "'I could give 96 crores; four crores are still wanting and so I grieve.' Rādhagupta said, 'Your treasures are numerous. The total sum must be given.'" [7]M8 & Div. *catvāraḥ koṭyaḥ*. [7–8]Chl omits. [9]M8 & Div. (except D) *kur*°. [10]M8 °*bdhā*. [11]Chinese translations transliterate the name in different ways. *Vide* Notes. Div.A *sampadi*. [12]Chl "the wicked ministers with perverse views (*mithyā-dṛṣṭi*)". [13]Chl reads these sentences with more details: "'King Aśoka approaches the end of his life. He squanders away his treasures; having given away all, he is about to be ruined. You will be the king. The treasures and the precious things are the resources of a king. That they may not be completely squandered away, you must now put a stop to it.' Eul-

इदं च द्रव्यं कुक्कुटारामं[1] प्रेष्यते। कोशबलिनश्च राजानः। निवारयितव्यः।

यावत्कुमारेण भाण्डागारिकः प्रतिषिद्धः। यदा राज्ञोऽशोकस्याप्रतिषिद्धा [सम्पत्] तस्य सुवर्णभाजने आहारमुपनाम्यते। भुक्त्वा तानि सुवर्णभाजनानि कुक्कुटारामं[1] प्रेषयति।

तस्य सुवर्णभाजनं प्रतिषिद्धं। रूप्यभाजने आहारमुपनाम्यते। तान्यपि कुक्कुटारामं[2] प्रेषयति। ततो रूप्यभाजनमपि प्रतिषिद्धं[3]। तस्य यावन् मृद्भाजन आहारमुपनाम्यते।

तस्मिंश्च समये राज्ञोऽशोकस्यार्धामलकं करान्तरगतं[4]। अथ राजाऽशोकः संविग्नः[5] अमात्यान् पौरांश्च[5] संनिपात्य कथयति। कः साम्प्रतं पृथिव्यामीश्वरः।

ततोऽमात्या[6] उत्थायासनाद् येन राजाऽशोकस्तेनाञ्जलिं प्रणम्य ऊचुः[7]। देवः पृथिव्यामीश्वरः। अथ राजा अशोकः[8] साश्रुदुर्दिननयनवदनोऽमात्यान्[9] उवाच।

दाक्षिण्यादनृतं हि किं कथयथ[10] भ्रष्टाधिराज्या वयं
शेषं त्वामलकार्धमित्यवसितं यत्र प्रभुत्वं मम।
ऐश्वर्यं[11] धिगनार्यमुद्धतनदीतोयप्रवेशोपमं[12]
मर्त्येन्द्रस्य ममापि यत् प्रतिभयं दारिद्र्यमभ्यागतं[13] ।।

mo-t'i (Sampadi) in accordance with the ministers took advantage of the illness and took away all that belonged to the king. He was given only one gold plate and one silver plate in which the royal repast was served."

[1]Div. AB & M8 *kurku°*. [2]Div. *kurku°*. [3]Chl omits this sentence. M8 & Div. add: *yāval lohabhājana āhāram upanāmyate. tāny api rājā'śokaḥ kurkuṭārāmaṁ preṣayati.* [4]Div. D omits *ardha*. A *kalātaragatam*, BD *kalabhagatam*. Chl "Finally the king was given the half of an *āmalaka* fruit. Having received the fruit...". [5]Chl omits. M8 *°mātyam*. [6]M8 & Div. *°tya*. [6–7]Chl simply *amātyā ūcuḥ*. [7]M8 & Div. *uvāca*. [8–9]Chl omits. [10]Chl "You are in error when you say that I am the master." M8 *°yata*. [11–12]Chl "Oh! The riches are utterly contemptible!" [13]Chl adds after this: "'I possess nothing but the half of an *āmalaka* fruit. (I am) like a violent stream which stops when it strikes a rock.' Then he recited the following *gāthās*:"

अथवा को भगवतो वाक्यमन्यथा करिष्यति। सम्पत्तयो हि सर्वा विपत्तिनिदाना[1] इति प्रतिज्ञातं यदवितथवादिना गौतमेन न[2] हि तद् विसंवदति। प्रतिशिष्यतेऽस्मन्नचिराज्ञा मम यावतिथा[3] मनसा साऽद्य महाद्रिशिलातले विहतावन् नदी प्रतिनिवृत्ता[4]।

आज्ञाप्य व्यवधूतडिम्बडमराम्[5] एकातपत्रां महीं
उत्पाटच प्रतिगर्वितानरिगणान् आश्वास्य दीनातुरान्।
भ्रष्टाऽस्थाऽयतनो[6] न भाति कृपणः संप्रत्यशोको नृपश्[7]
[8]छिन्नम्लानविशीर्णपत्रकुसुमः शुष्यत्यशोको यथा[9] ॥

ततो[10] राजाऽशोकः समीपगतं पुरुषमाहूयोवाच। [11]भद्रमुख पूर्वगुणानुरागाद् भ्रष्टैश्वर्यस्यापि मम इमं तावद् अपश्चिमं व्यापारं कुरु[12]। इदं ममार्धामलकं ग्रहाय [13]कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा सङ्घे निर्यातय। मद्वचनाच्च सङ्घस्य पादाभिवन्दनं कृत्वा वक्तव्यं[14]।

जम्बुद्वीपैश्वर्यस्य राज्ञ एष साम्प्रतं विभव इति। इदं[15] तावद् अपश्चिमं दानं तथा परिभोक्तव्यं यथा मे सङ्घगता दक्षिणा विस्तीर्णा स्यादिति। आह च[16]।

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[1]Div. & M8 °*dhanā*. [2]M8 omits *na*. [3]Div. & M8 *yāvati yathā*. Div. BD *manasā sā dyai*. M8 °*dya*. Div. A *manasā dyai*. Div. BD *śilātala*. A °*tale*. Div. *vihita*°. M8 *vihivanna*°. [4]Ch1 "The speeches of Buddha are veridical. In his speeches there is nothing which is not correct. He said: 'Those who love have the pangs of separation.' Formerly I gave orders and none could obstruct them. Today I am like a (spring of) rushing water that strikes a rock and stops flowing. Actually, in the same way, my orders are disobeyed." Div. °*nirvṛ*°. [5]Ch1 omits this adjective. Div. AB °*vyavadhṛta*°. [6]M8 & Div. °*sṭāchāya*°. [6–7]Ch1 "Today my power is gone. I am like a broken chariot which itself has no longer any planks for support." [8]Div. °*chinnā*°. [9]Ch1 adds: "I have lost all supports. My edict is a dead letter." [10]Div. *tato . . . . samīpaṁ gataṁ*. [11]Ch2 has mistaken this for a proper name. [10–11]Ch1 "Having recited these *gāthās* he called a dignitary attending him, gave him the *āmalaka* and the following order:" [11–12]Ch1 omits. [13]M8 & Div. *kurku*° (D *kukku*°). [14]Ch1 reads this sentence simply: "You shall speak to the Sthavira." [15–16]Ch1 omits.

इदं प्रदानं चरमं ममाद्य
राज्यं च तच्चैव[1] गतं स्वभावं।
[2]आरोग्यवैद्योषधिवर्जितस्य
त्राता न मेऽस्त्यार्यगणाद् बहिर्धा ।।
तत्तथा भुज्यतां येन प्रदानं मम पश्चिमं।
यथा सङ्घगता मेऽद्य विस्तीर्णा दक्षिणा भवेत् ।।

एवं देवेति स पुरुषो राज्ञोऽशोकस्य प्रतिश्रुत्य तदर्धामलकं गृह्य कुक्कुटारामं गत्वा वृद्धान्ते स्थित्वा कृताञ्जलिस्तदर्धामलकं सङ्घे निर्यातयन्नुवाच[3]।

एकच्छत्रसमुच्छ्रयां वसुमतीमाज्ञापयन् यः पुरा
[4]लोकं तापयति स्म मध्यदिवसप्राप्तो दिवा भास्करः[5]।
[6]भाग्यच्छिद्रमवेक्ष्य सोऽद्य नृपतिः स्वैः कर्मभिर्वञ्चितः
संप्राप्ते दिवसक्षये रविरिव भ्रष्टप्रभावः स्थितः ।।

भक्त्यावनतेन शिरसा प्रणम्य सङ्घाय तेन खलु दत्तमिदमामलकस्यार्धं [7]लक्ष्मीचापल्यचिह्नितं। ततः[8] सङ्घस्थविरो भिक्षूनुवाच। [9]भदन्ता भवद्भिः शक्यमिदानीं संवेगमुत्पादयितुं। कुतः। एवं ह्युक्तं भगवता—परविपत्तिः संवेजनीयं स्थानमिति। कस्येदानीं सहृदयस्य संवेगो नोत्पाद्यते। कुतः[10]।

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[1]M8 & Div. *taṁ*. M8 omits *rājyaṁ*. [2–3]Ch1 reads: "'May the Saṅgha receive with compassion the last alm of the unfortunate one, as I am, so that I may acquire merits.' Thereupon the Sthavira Yaśas addressed the Saṅgha, the following: 'You have all seen king Aśoka enjoying good fortune and pleasures.'" [4–5]Ch1 "Today he is governed by the throng of his subjects. They have robbed him of his royal wealth in such a way that he has none of them at his disposal. There is nothing else than this half of an *āmalaka* fruit which he can dispose of, at his will. With a grave and aggrieved mind, he comes to offer this to the religious ones." [6–8]Ch1 omits. [7]M8 & Div. BD *lakṣmyā cāpāly*°, Div. A °*kṣyānāpālya*°. [9]Div. & M8 *bhavantaḥ* for *bhavadbhiḥ*. [9–10]Ch1 puts this passage after *yūṣe prakṣipya saṅghe cāritaṁ* and reads it as follows: "It suits now for this reason to express a bitter distaste and a profound aversion for transmigration! Treasures and

[1]त्यागशूरो नरेन्द्रोऽसौ अशोको मौर्यकुञ्जरः ।
जम्बुद्वीपेश्वरो भूत्वा जातोऽर्धामलकेश्वरः ।।
भृत्यैः स भूमिपतिरद्य हृताधिकारो
दानं प्रयच्छति किलामलकार्धमेतत् ।
श्रीभोगविस्तरमदैरतिगर्वितानां
प्रत्यादिशन्निव मनांसि पृथग्जनानां[1] ।।

यावद् तदर्धामलकं चूर्णयित्वा यूषे प्रक्षिप्य[2] सङ्घे चारितं ।

[3]ततो राजाऽशोको राधगुप्तमुवाच[4] । कथय राधगुप्त कः साम्प्रतं पृथिव्यामीश्वरः ।

अथ राधगुप्तोऽशोकस्य[5] पादयोर्निपत्य कृताञ्जलिर्[6] उवाच । देवः पृथिव्यामीश्वरः ।

अथ राजाऽशोकः कथंचिदुत्थाय चतुर्दिशमवलोक्य[7] सङ्घाया-ञ्जलिं कृत्वोवाच ।

एष इदानीं महत् कोशं स्थापयित्वा इमां समुद्रपर्यन्तां महा-पृथिवीं भगवच्छ्रावकसङ्घे निर्यातयामि ।

आह च ।

इमां समुद्रोत्तमनीलकञ्चुका-
मनेकरत्नाकरभूषिताननां ।
ददाम्यहं भूतधरां[8] समन्दरां
सङ्घाय तस्मै ह्युपभुज्यतां फलं[9] ।।

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pleasures vanish quickly! Power and sovereignty are soon lost. Fie! The transmigration well deserves aversion and disgust." [1]Chl omits. [2]Chl "Then the Sthavira gave order to the man-in-charge to grate (the fruit) in the soup, so that all the monks may participate in the offering." M8 & Div. ABD *yūthe*. A *prakṣipta*. [3]Before this, Chl adds an obscure passage (See Notes) which is neither found in the M8 nor Div. nor in Ch2. [3–4]Chl "When king Aśoka approached the end of his life, he asked Rādha°. . ." [5–6]Chl omits. [7]M8 & Div. AB *avasākya*. [8]Div. A *satadharāṁ*, D *sūdharāṁ*, M8 *bhūdharāṁ*. [9]Div. & M8 *tasminn upabhujyate*. Chl omits this *śloka*.

अपि च।

दानेनाहमनेन नेन्द्रभवनं न ब्रह्मलोके फलं
काङ्क्षामि द्रुतवारिवेगचपलां प्रागेव राजश्रियं।
दानस्यास्य फलं तु भक्तिमहितं[1] यन्मेऽस्ति तेनाप्नुयां
चित्तैश्वर्यमहार्यमार्यमहितं[2] नायाति यद् विक्रियां[3] ।।

यावत् पत्राभिलिखितं कृत्वा दन्तमुद्रया मुद्रितं[4]। ततो राजा महापृथिवीं सङ्घे दत्त्वा कालगतः। यावदमात्यैर्नीलपीताभिः शिविकाभिर्निर्हृरित्वा[5] शरीरपूजां कृत्वा ध्मापयित्वा[6] राजानं प्रतिष्ठापयिष्याम इति [उक्तम्][7]। यावद् राधगुप्तेनाभिहितं। राज्ञाऽशोकेन महापृथिवी सङ्घे निर्यातिता इति। ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितं। किमर्थमिति।

राधगुप्त उवाच। एष राज्ञोऽशोकस्य मनोरथो बभूव[8] कोटीशतं भगवच्छासने दानं दास्यामीति। तेन षण्णवतिकोटचो[9] दत्ताः। यावद् आज्ञा प्रतिषिद्धा[10]। तदभिप्रायेण राज्ञा महापृथिवी सङ्घे दत्ता।

यावदमात्यैश्चतस्रः कोटीर्[11] भगवच्छासने दत्त्वा पृथिवीं निष्क्रीय संपदी राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापितः।

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[1]Div. & M8 °*mahato*. Ch1 reads this *śloka* as follows: "But I wish that in future, wherever I may be born, I attain the sovereignty over my own self, and realize promptly the Holy Fruit." [2]M8 omits *ārya*. [3]M8 °*yā*. [4]M8 & Div. *dattaṁ mu*°. Ch1 "sealed it with his teeth." Ch1 adds: "and gave it to minister Rādhagupta." According to Ch2, the document was written on a palm-leaf (*to lo*=*tāla*). [5]Div. AB only *ratvā*. [6]M8 & Div. omit it. [7]Ch1 reads this passage as: "The ministers in accordance with the established law of the Cakravartin king, decorated him with all sorts of decorations, paid him homage and cremated him. Sampadī was crowned king." Ch2 reads: "Having decorated a litter with multi-coloured silk they paid homage to the body of the king." Div. A *tāvadādhumrastenābhihitam* (for *yāvad rādha*°), B —*nābhi*°. [8]Ch1 adds: "like the householder Sudatta". [9]Div. A *ṣannavāt*, B *ṣannuvyanta*. [10]M8 & Div. *rājñā prati*°. Ch1 reads this and the following sentence thus: "The desire of the deceased king should be fulfilled by redeeming Jambudvīpa with four crores." [11]M8 & Div. °*tyo*.

संपदिनो बृहस्पतिः[1] पुत्रो बृहस्पतेर्वृषसेनो[2] वृषसेनस्य[2] पुष्यधर्मा[3] पुष्यधर्मणः[3] पुष्यमित्रः। सोऽमात्यानामन्त्रयते। क उपायः स्याद् यदस्माकं नाम चिरं तिष्ठेद्।

तैरभिहितं[4]। देवस्य च वंशाद् अशोको नाम्ना राजा बभूवेति। तेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापितं[5]। यावद् भगवच्छासनं प्राप्यते तावत् तस्य यशः स्थास्यति। देवोऽपि चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं प्रतिष्ठापयतु[6]।

राजाऽह। महेशाख्यो राजाऽशोको बभूव[7]। अन्यः कश्चिदुपाय इति। तस्य ब्राह्मणपुरोहितः पृथग्जनोऽश्राद्धः[8]। तेनाभिहितं। देव, द्वाभ्यां कारणाभ्यां नाम चिरं स्थास्यति। [9]राज्ञाशोकेन चतुरशीतिधर्मराजिकासहस्रं स्थापितमतस्तस्य नाम चिरं तिष्ठति। भवांश्चेत् तानि नाशयेद् भवतो नाम चिरतरं स्थास्यतीति[10]।

यावद् राजा पुष्यमित्र[11]श्चतुरङ्गबलकायं संनाहयित्वा भगवच्-[12]छासनं विनाशयिष्यामीति[13] कुक्कुटारामं निर्गतः[14]। द्वारे च सिंहनादो मुक्तः। यावत् स राजा भीतः पाटलिपुत्रं[15] प्रविष्टः[15]। एवं द्विरपि त्रिरपि[16]। यावद् भिक्षूंश्च सङ्घमाहूय कथयति। भगवच्छासनं नाशयिष्यामीति। किम् इच्छथ स्तूपं सङ्घारामान् वा[17]। स्तूपाः[18] भिक्षुभिः

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[1]Div. *sampader vṛ°*. M8 *°pade vṛ°*. Ch1 reads: "Gṛha(pa)ti." Ch2: "Vṛha°." [2]M8 omits *vṛṣasen°*. Ch1 omits. Ch2 reads: "Vṛṣa°." [3]Ch1 "Puṣya(var)man." [4]Ch1 "One of them replied:" [5]Ch1 adds: "and gave donation of one hundred crores of gold." [6]Ch1 adds: "and your name will last in this world for a long time." [7]Ch1 "My predecessor was quite powerful for realizing such things. But how can I perform similar deeds?" [8]Ch1 "There was one adviser with perverse views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*)." M8 *tasya brāhmaṇaḥ purohitaḥ*. [9–10]These sentences are wanting in Sanskrit. They are adopted from Ch. [11]Div. D & M8 *°mitra catu°*. [12–13]Ch1 omits. [13]M8 *kurku°*. [14]Ch1 adds: "to burst open the doors of the monastery". [15]Ch1 "He did not dare to enter into the monastery and returned." [16]Ch1 "Thrice he reappeared thus but could not enter." [17]Ch1 adds: *rakṣitum*. M8 *°rāmāṁ vā*. [18]Adopted from Chinese. M8 & Div. omit.

परिगृहीताः। यावत् पुष्यमित्रो यावत् सङ्घारामं [नाशयन्] भिक्षूंश्च[१] प्रघातयन् प्रस्थितः।

स यावच् छाकलमनुप्राप्तः[२]। तेनाभिहितं[२]। यो मे श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं[३] दास्यामि। [तत्र एकः] धर्मराजिकावास्य[४]ऽर्हद् ऋद्धया[५] शिरो दातुमारब्धः[६]। श्रुत्वा च राजाऽर्हन्तं[७] प्रघातयितुमारब्धः। स च निरोधं समापन्नः। तस्य परोपक्रमो न क्रमते[८]। स तं समुत्सृज्य यावत् कोष्ठकं गतः[९]।

द्रंष्ट्रानिवासी[१०] यक्षश्चिन्तयति। इदं भगवच्छासनं विनश्यति। अहं च शिक्षां धारयामि। न मया शक्यं कस्यचिदप्रियं कर्तुं[११]। तस्य दुहिता कृमिशेन[१२] यक्षेण याच्यते। न चानुप्रयच्छति त्वं पापकर्मकारीति। यावत् सा दुहिता तेन कृमिशस्य[१३] दत्ता। भगवच्छासनपरित्राणार्थं[१४] परिग्रहपरिपालनार्थं च[१५]।

[१६]पुष्यमित्रस्य राज्ञः पृष्टतो यक्षो महाप्रमाणोऽनुबद्धः[१७]। तस्यानुभावात् स राजा न प्रतिहन्यते[१८]। यावद् दंष्ट्रानिवासी यक्षस्तं पुष्य[१९]-

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[1]Div. D & M8 *bhikṣuś ca*. [2]Ch1 reads: "And applying these measures progressively upto the kingdom of Śākala, he proclaimed the following edict:" [3]Ch1 "a piece of gold (*dināra*)". [4]M8 & Div. omit *sya*. Ch1 "In that country, in a big *stūpa* (*i.e. dharmarājikā*) lived an Arhat." Ch2 "An Arhat who lived in the monastery of 'the king of the Law (*dharmarāja*).'" [5]M8 & Div. read: *vṛddhyā*. [6]Div. AB °*bdhaṁ*. Ch1 "By magic, he created many myriads of heads of Śramaṇa and told the inhabitants to take them to the king." [7]M8 & Div. *arhat*. [8]Ch1 "It was impossible to kill him." M8 *sa tat [sa]mutsṛjya*. Div. D °*tan mutsṛ*°. AB *yatnam utsṛ*°. [9]Ch1 adds: "with an intention to destroy the Law of Buddha". [10]Ch1 "There was a demon (Ch2 *yakṣa*) who protected the Law (Ch2 "a tooth") of Buddha." [11]Ch1 adds: "How can I protect and maintain the Law of Buddha?" [12]M8 *kṛṣiśe*°. D °*miṣ*°. Ch2 *kiliṣa. kilbiṣa*? [13]Div. D & M8 *kṛmiṣa*°. Ch2 *kiliṣa*. [14]Ch1 "in the interest of the Law". Ch2 follows the text. [14–15]Ch1 omits. [16–18]Ch1 reads: "So in Koṣṭhaka the demons and the powerful spirits protected (the Law) and Puṣyamitra could not destroy it." Ch2 same as the text. [17]M8 & Div. *mahān pramāṇe yūyam*. Ch2 "An extremely robust *yakṣa* protected king Puṣyamitra constantly."

मित्रानुबद्धं[1] यक्षं[1] ग्रहाय [2]पर्वतचर्येऽचरत्। यावद्[3] दक्षिणं महासमुद्रं गतः। कृमिशेन[4] च यक्षेण महान्तं पर्वतमानयित्वा पुष्यमित्रो राजा सबलवाहनोऽवष्टब्धः। तस्य सुनिहित[5] इति संज्ञा व्यवस्थापिता[6]। यदा पुष्यमित्रो राजा प्रघातितस्तदा मौर्यवंशः[7] समुच्छिन्नः।

इति श्रीदिव्यावदानेऽशोकावदानं समाप्तं[8]॥

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[1]Div. & M8 °*bandha*°, D *grahāye*. [2–3]Ch2 omits these. It agrees fully with this paragraph of the text. [1–3]Ch1 reads: "Then the demons and the spirits of Bodhi seduced the guards of the king and carried them away to...". [3]Div. *dakṣiṇā*, M8 °*ṇāṁ*. [4]Ch2 *kiliṣ*°. Div. D & M8 *kṛmiṣeṇa*. [5]M8 & Div. *munihata*. Ch "deeply hidden". [6]M8 & Div. D °*taḥ*. [7]Ch1 *magadharāja-vaṁśaḥ*. Ch2 agrees. [8]Div. D °*triṁśatitamaḥ samāmptaḥ*. M8 °*dānamālāyām aśokāvadānaṁ nāmādhyāyaḥ*.

APPENDIX A

THE LIFE OF AŚOKA
BASED ON EPIGRAPHIC RECORDS

Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Aśoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory today than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne.

H. G. Wells: *The Outline of History*, p. 247

Aśoka was the grandson of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He was coronated in 270 B.C. Following the custom of the kings of ancient India, Aśoka held an epithet as *devānāṁ priyaḥ priyadarśī rājā*[1].

He was the son of Bindusāra. He had several brothers and sisters[2], some of whom were residing with their families in the capital of Pāṭāliputra and others in the mufassil towns, during his reign. He had his *avarodhana* or closed female appartments both in the capital and in the provinces. He had more than one queen; one of them was named Cāruvākī who had a son named Tīvara[3]. Aśoka had at least four sons who were Viceroys of Taxila, Ujjayini, Suvarṇagiri and Tosalī[4].

Before he became a devoted Buddhist, Aśoka like other ancient kings had the habit of entertaining his subjects with feasts and amusements. He used to hold *samājas* for public entertainment. The *samāja* was of two kinds. In one, people were entertained with dainty dishes abounding in meat. In the other, they were entertained with music, dancing, wrestling and the like. The *samājas* were intended to gratify the senses, the palate, the eye, and the ear of the people.

Both the kinds of *samājas* were celebrated by Aśoka until he began to preach the Dharma. Afterwards he prohibited those where animals were slaughtered to serve meat.

Aśoka himself confessed that slaughter of hundreds of thousand of animals (*prāṇa-śata-sahasrāṇi*) was going on every day in the royal kitchen (*cf.* Rock Edict I). This practice of doling out food consisting of meat to the subjects was very old and was going on till recently in the native states. This was a diplomatic policy of the kings to gain popularity among their subjects.

In the eighth year of his reign, *circa* 262 B.C., Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga (which roughly corresponds to the tract of land on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Vaitaraṇī and Languliya rivers). He has himself described the horrors and sufferings of the war. Even in such a small province as Kaliṅga, "one hundred and fifty thousand persons were deported, one hundred thousand were killed, and many times that number died." (*cf.* Rock Edict XIII).

About a year after this war, Aśoka embraced Buddhism. The thought of this war overwhelmed him with deep and sincere repentance.

When a territory is conquered, it remains for some time in an unsettled condition. The officers in charge of administration and maintenance of peace often go beyond the limits of justice and mercy. Such acts of injustice and ruthlessness were actually witnessed in Kaliṅga. It is known from one of the inscriptions, how severely Aśoka chastised his officials and what steps he took to prevent such excesses in future.

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[1] This is the full appellation or epithet found in Aśoka's inscriptions, which is sometimes shortened into: *devānāṁ priyaḥ*, or *priyadarśī rājā* (or *rājā priyadarśī*) or simply *priyadarśī*. The Gujjara version, of the minor Rock Edict calls him: *devānāṁ priyaḥ priyadarśī rājā'śokaḥ*, while the Maski version of the same edict calls him: *devānāṁ priyo'śokaḥ*.

Once he is called: *priyadarśī rājā māgadhaḥ* (Bairat Buddhist Text Edict); *cf. Aśoka's Edicts*, by Dr. A. C. Sen, 1956.

[2] In Rock Edict 5, we find the following statement of Aśoka: "In the female apartments of my brothers and sisters, here and in all the towns in the provinces. . . ."

This denotes he had several brothers who were residing with their families in the capital and other towns of the empire. Prejudiced by the fables that are found both in Pali and Sanskrit, some scholars argue that because there is mention of (Aśoka's) brothers' families and not of brothers, Aśoka must have killed his brothers before he came to the throne.

[3] Allahabad Pillar Queen's Gifts Edict.

[4] Separate Kaliṅga Rock Edicts

For some time after his conversion to Buddhism he remained indifferent. Afterwards he exerted himself with his whole heart for the diffusion of Dharma. The idea of a Cakravartī Dhārmika Dharmarāja[1], the supreme ruler of the earth, not by conquest but by righteousness, possessed his mind. This ideal inspired him to promote the material and spiritual well-being, not only of his own subjects, but also those of his neighbouring independent kings. These acts of welfare were not restricted within the sphere of human life. They were for all sentient beings.

How did he put this ideal into practice ? What means and methods did he adopt to achieve his vision ? It is described by Aśoka himself:

"This occurred to me: In times past, kings had wished that men should grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma. But men did not grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma (Dharma)...How may men grow with a befitting growth of Dhamma ?...The same (object) being in view Dhamma proclamations were caused to be announced by me (and) manifold Dhamma instructions were ordered, so that (my) officers too, who are occupied among many people, would advocate and explain them in detail.

The Rajjukas[2] too are occupied among many hundred thousands of people. They too were ordered by me (thus)——'In such and such manner, exhort ye the people, being (yourselves) devoted to the Dhamma.'

Having this very (object) in view, I set up Dhamma Pillars, appointed the Dhamma-Mahāmattas (Dharma-Mahāmātras) (and) announced Dhamma proclamations.

On the roads I have planted banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight *kosas* and I have had resthouses built. I have made many watering sheds at different places for enjoyment of man and beast. This (provision) of enjoyment is indeed a trifle, because mankind has been blessed with many (such) blessings by the previous kings as well as by me. But I have done this with the intent that men may follow the practices of Dhamma."—Pillar Edict VII.

The Dharma-Mahāmātras had the duty to look after the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the people. One of the most important duties of these officers was to see that all sects live peacefully without any conflict among themselves for their different views. They were to direct the attention of the various sects to what was essential in the Dhamma.

Aśoka wished all sects, the Brāhmaṇas, the Buddhists, the Ājīvikas, the Nirgranthas, etc. to flourish in his empire. He bestowed charities on all of them.

There was another duty assigned to these Dharma-Mahāmātras. It was the distribution of charities. Aśoka said:

"These (Dharma°) and many other head officials are employed in the distribution of bounties, both my own and those of the queens, and all my gynaeceum ...And I have arranged that they shall be occupied with the distribution of the bounties of my sons and other sons of the queens...." *Cf.* Pillar Edict VII.

Another method that Aśoka adopted for the propagation of the Dhamma is that he commanded all the mufassil officials of the highest grade to go out on circuit tours to give instruction on the Dharma to the people, besides the discharge of their official duties. So we see that his District Officers of the superior grade were officers as well as teachers. It was a novel idea, and doubtlessly it was Aśoka who was the first king to find out the most successful way for the propagation of the Dharma.

Now what instructions on the Dharma were they to give to the people ? These were the ethical practices, the common ground of all sects that were to be caused to be heard by the people. (*dhamma-sāvana*). *Cf.* Pillar Edicts II, III, VII; Rock Edicts III-IV, IX, XI.

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[1] *Cf. D.* i. 88; *A.* i. 109-10, iii. 149-51.

[2] The Rajjukas were probably the governors of districts. *Cf.* Dr. D. C. Sirkar.

As we have seen, Aśoka strove not only for the spiritual well-being, but also for the material welfare of all creatures. For this, first of all, he banned wanton destruction of life. He attempted to check and ultimately stopped altogether the old custom of doling out meat daily to his subjects and saved the lives of innumerable helpless mute creatures.

So, the first step was to protect life and the second to promote the physical welfare of all creatures. This was achieved by his charities. Aśoka made curative arrangements (hospitals) both for human beings and for animals (260-58 B.C.) He said: "Where medical herbs, wholesome for man and wholesome for animal are not found, they have everywhere been imported and planted." *Cf.* Rock Edict II.

This he did, not only in his own empire but also in the neighbouring and distant states.

The department of the Dharma°[1] under Aśoka sent out officers or religious ambassadors to foreign states both in the North and South, to the neighbouring and distant states of Antiochus II, Theos (261-246 B.C.) of Syria or Greek king of Western Asia as well as the four kings, Ptolemy II, (285-247 B.C.) Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus, Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) of Macedonia, Magas (282-258 B.C. or 300-250 B.C.) of Cyrene in North Africa, Alexander of Epirus (272-255 B.C.) or of Corinth (252-244 B.C.) and lower down in the South the Coḷas (or Coḍas) and the Pāṇḍyas, as far as the Tāmraparṇī (Ceylon). *Cf.* Rock Edict XIII.

Aśoka was not satisfied by inscribing messages on rocks or pillars or sending missionaries; he personally moved among his people preaching to them, discussing with them and holding religious conferences. This he called his religious tour (*dharmayātrā*). He substituted this for the ancient pleasure trip (*vihārayātrā*) of the kings. This he prohibited.

Aśoka began his pilgrimages in 260 B.C., when he went to the place of Enlightenment (*sambodhi*) of Buddha. It was followed by many of its kind.

In the twentieth year of his reign (coronation), Aśoka visited the birthplace of Buddha. To pay his respect to the Blessed One, he exempted the village of Lumbinī from all religious cess. The village was to pay only one-eighth of its produce as land revenue.

Aśoka reigned at least for twenty-eight years, for the seventh Pillar Edict was published in 243-42 B.C. in the 28th year of his reign. According to the concurrent statements of the Brāhmaṇa and the Buddhist writers, he reigned for thirty-seven years. If this is accepted as a fact, then the close of his reign or death took place in about 232 B.C.

Aśoka had an empire extending from Afghanistan to Mysore. In the East it included Eastern, Western and Northern Bengal. Territories that are now outside India and Pakistan were parts of the Indian empire which he inherited from his grandfather Chandragupta and father Bindusāra. He annexed Kaliṅga to this. The extent of his empire may be known from the geographical distribution of his Rock and Pillar Edicts. The former are found in the following places: (1) Shāhbāzgarhī, near Peshawar; (2) Mānsehrā in the Hazara district, W. Pakistan; (3) Kālsī, near Dehra Dun; (4) Sopārā, in Thānā district, near Bombay; (5) Girnār, near Junāgarh in Kathiawar; (6) Dhaulī, in Puri district, near Bhuvaneśwar;; (7) Jaugaḍa, on the Ṛṣikulya river in Ganjam district of Orissa; (8) Yerrāguḍi in Kurnool district, Andhra State; (9) Chitaldroog in Mysore, where Minor Rock Edicts appear in the hills on the Chinna Haggari river at three different localities; (10) Rūpnāth, near Jubbulpur where appears only the Minor Rock Edict I; (11) Sahasrām in Bihar with Minor Rock Edict I only; (12) Bairāṭ near Jaipur, Rajasthan

[1] The Dharma° were appointed to spread the Dha°, mitigate the wrongs or rigours of justice, administer the charities of the king and the royal family, supervise the morals of their harems and superintend the affairs conducted by the committees or councils (*Pariṣads*) governing different sects, Buddhist, Jains, Ājīvikas and others. *Vide Aśoka,* by Radhakumud Mookerji, 2nd rev. edt., 1955, pp. 31-32.

showing only M.R.E. I; (13) Bhābru, with its special Edict which originally appeared on a second hill at Bairāṭ; (13) Maski, showing M.R.E. I only, in the Hyderabad State; (14) Gavīmaṭh as also; (15) Pālkīguṇḍu, in Kopbal Taluk (about 4 miles from Gavīmaṭh), Hyderabad state; (16) Yerrāguḍi (8 miles from Gooty Ry. Station, S. India) where appears also one M.R.E.; (17) Laghman in Jalabad district of Afghanistan where is an inscription in Aramaic script; (18) Taxila where also is found an Aramaic inscription: the Pillars bearing the Edicts stood at (1) Toprā, near Ambala; (2) Meerut, both of which were taken to Delhi by Sultan Firoz Toghlak (1351-88 A.D.); (3) Kauśāmbī, removed to Allahabad where are Pillar Edicts (I-VI), the Queen's Edict and Kauśāmbī Edict; (4) Lauṛiyā Ararāj (Rādhia); (5) Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh (Mathia); (6) Rāmpūrvā all three in Champaran district; (7) Sānchī, near Bhopal (M.P.E.); (8) Sārnāth (M.P.E.); (9) Rummindei in Nepal; (10) Nigliva, in Nepalese Tarai.

Vide Aśoka, by R. K. Mookerji & D. R. Bhandarkar.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF AŚOKA'S REIGN

270 B. C. Coronation
262 B. C. Conquest of Kaliṅga
261-60 B. C. Conversion to Buddhism
260 B. C. Issue of Minor Rock Edict I, and first "pious tour" to Bodh Gaya. (R. E. VIII)
259 B. C. Issue of the two Kaliṅga (Separate) Edicts
258-57 B. C. Issue of the Fourteen Rock Edicts in one corpus; grant of cave-dwellings in the Barabār Hills to the Ājīvikas
257 B. C. Institution of officers called Dharma-Mahāmātras (R.E. V)
256 B. C. Double enlargement of the Stūpa of Buddha Kon(ṇ)āgamana
250 B. C. Pilgrimage to Lumbinī Garden, the birth-place of Buddha; visit to the Stūpa of Buddha Konāgamana and erection of commemorative pillars at both places
243-2 B. C. Issue of Pillar Edicts
232 B. C. Death of Aśoka

The fourteen Rock Edicts show that the following measures were passed before the date of the Edicts, and so they date between 260-258 B.C.:

1. Abolition of
   (*a*) Sacrificial slaughter of animals in the capital
   (*b*) *Samājas* (merry-making of a kind, accompanied by animal fights, feasting with consumption of meat etc.)
   (*c*) Slaughter of animals for the royal table, except two peacocks and one antelope (R.E.I)
   (*d*) "Tours of pleasure" accompanied by "hunting and other similar amusements" (R.E. VIII)
   (*e*) War (R.E. IV) and conquest (R.E. XIII)

2. Provision of public works of utility, *viz*:
   (*a*) Hospitals for man and beast
   (*b*) Botanical gardens for the culture of medicinal plants, indigenous and foreign (obtained by import), including "herbs, roots and fruits"
   (*c*) Wells and trees on the roads for the comforts of travellers and animals (R.E. II)

3. Supply of medical aid and facilities for both man and beast in foreign countries (those of Antiochus and even of his neighbours) and in countries on the borders (R.E. II)
4. Organisation of Missionary work in foreign countries, which were

objects not of his political or military but religious conquests (*dharma-vijaya*) achieved by his missionaries (*dūtas*) (R. E. XIII)

5. Institution of Quinquennial Circuits of Officers for missionary, as well as administrative work (R.E. III), which afterwards leads to:
6. Creation of a new and separate department of Missionary Service under officers styled Dharma-Mahāmātras—Ministers of Religion or Morals, for propagation of piety among his subjects (including royal relations, male and female), as also among foreign peoples (R. E. V)
7. Institution of a new and separate set of officers called the *Strī-Adhyakṣa-Mahāmātras* (Ministers in charge of (the superintendents of?) women) for the purpose of supervising female morals (R.E. XII)
8. Institution of the king's own 'Pious tours' among his people, accompanied by royal gifts for ascetics, Brāhmaṇas, men disabled by age; and the holding of religious conferences for preaching and discussing the moral law (R.E. VIII)
9. Organization of religious shows and processions (R.E. IV)

A CHRONOLOGY FROM THE LEGENDS

304 B. C. Birth of Aśoka

286 B. C. Aśoka sent by his father as his Viceroy from Pāṭaliputra to Ujjayinī at the age of eighteen (*Mahāvaṁsa.* xiii. 8-11)

286 B. C. Aśoka's marriage with Devī of Vedisā (Besnagar, Bhilsa, *Ibid.*)

284 B. C. Birth of Aśoka's eldest son Mahendra (*Ibid.* xiii. 10)

282 B. C. Birth of his eldest daughter Saṅghamitrā (*Ibid.* xiii. 11)

274 B. C.

- (*i*) War of succession
- (*ii*) Death of the crown-prince Sumana
- (*iii*) Aśoka's accession to the throne
- (*iv*) Birth of Sumana's posthumous son, Nigrodha (*Ibid.* v. 40-3)

270 B. C. Aśoka's Coronation (*Ibid.* v. 22.)

270-66 B. C. Aśoka's younger brother Tissa, as his Vice-Regent (*uparāja*) (*Ibid.* v. 33)

270-40 B. C. Asandhimitrā as Aśoka's *agramahiṣī* (*Ibid.* v. 85; xx. 2)

268 B. C. Saṅghamitrā married to Agnibrahmā (*Ibid.* v. 169)

267 B. C. Birth of Aśoka's grandson Sumana, son of Saṅgha° (*Ibid.* v. 170)

266 B. C.

- (*i*) Conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism by Nigrodha who was then only seven years old (*Ibid.* v. 44-68)
- (*ii*) Aśoka converts his brother Tissa, his Vice-Regent, to Buddhism (*Ibid.* v. 160)
- (*iii*) Tissa ordained by Mahādhammarakkhita (*Ibid.* v. 167)
- (*iv*) Agnibrahmā, nephew and son-in-law of Aśoka ordained (*Ibid.* v. 169)
- (*v*) Appointment of Mahendra at the age of eighteen as Vice-Regent in place of Tissa (*Ibid.* v. 202)

266-63 B.C. Building of *Vihāras* and *Caityas* by Aśoka (*Ibid.* v. 173-5; *Aśokāvadāna*, pp. 55, 56, 79, 83, 87, 105, 126.)

264 B. C.

- (*i*) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva, with Majjhantika as President of the Chapter performing the Kammavācaṁ: second ordination of Mahendra by Moggaliputta Tissa as his *upādhyāya*
- (*ii*) Ordination of Saṅgha° by her *ācāryā* Āyupālā and *upādhyāyā* Dhammapālā (*Mahāvaṁsa*, v. 204-9)
- (*iii*) Promotion of Aśoka from the status of *paccayadāyaka* to that of a *sāsanadāyāda* (*Ibid.* v. 197)

263 B. C. Birth of Kuṇāla, son of Padmāvatī (*Aśoka*°, p. 105)

262 B. C. Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by increase in the number of undesirable members in the Saṅgha and the consequent retirement of Moggaliputta Tissa (*Mahāv*°. v. 226-33)

262-254 B. C. The Saṅgha under the leadership of Mahendra: recall by Aśoka of Moggaliputta Tissa who taught him the doctrine of the Sambuddha; meeting of the Saṅgha under him and expulsion of heretical monks by Aśoka. (*Ibid.*, v. 232-74; *cf.* Sānchī and Sārnāth Pillar Edicts)

260-50 B. C. Possible period of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places which followed his completion of the *dharmarājikās* according to *Aśokāvadāna*, pp. 81-87 which states that Aśoka was taken by his preceptor Upagupta first to Lumbinī *Vana* and afterwards to *Bodhimūla*. R. E. VIII refers to Aśoka's visit to *Sambodhi* in 260 B.C. and the Rummindei Pillar Edict to his visit to Lumbinī in 250 B.C.

253 B. C. Meeting of the third Buddhist council under Moggaliputta Tissa and despatch by him of missionaries to different countries (*Mahāv*°. xii. 1-8)

252 B. C. Mahendra on way to Ceylon visits his mother Devī at Vedisā (*Ibid.*, xiii. 8-11) when he had been twelve years a monk

240 B. C. Death of Asandhimitrā, "the dear consort of Aśoka and faithful believer in the Sambuddha" (*Ibid.*, xx. 2)

236 B. C. Tiṣyarakṣitā raised to the rank of chief queen (*Ibid.*, xx. 3: also *Aśoka*°, p. 107 where she is mentioned as Asoka's *agramahiṣī*)

235 B. C. Kuṇāla sent out as Viceroy to Taxila, then in revolt (*Aśokāvadāna* p. 109)

233 B. C. Tiṣya°'s jealousy against the Bodhi-tree which she tries to destroy (*Mahāv*°. xx. 4-6; *Aśoka*°, p. 93)

232 B. C. Death of Aśoka in the 38th year of his reign (*Mahāv*°. xx. 6). *Vide Aśoka*, by R. K. Mookerji, pp. 37-46

APPENDIX B

AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS

The records of Aśoka are remarkable for their homely diction in prose. It follows a law of rhythms and cadence of its own and combines sincerity of purpose with dignity of expression. It is enlivened throughout by the noblest sentiment of a well-meaning heart, and vivid with the grandest vision of a righteous world of ceaseless activity promoting the cause of piety and promising the attainment of the desired object here and of a grand heaven hereafter. It conveys the lofty message of an enlightened seer of eternal good and happiness, and serves as a fitting vehicle of sparkling thoughts of a highly sensitive and practical mind. Its pathos is well-suited to its theme, and its appeal goes direct into the heart. The epigraphs read as so many autobiographical sketches of Aśoka. In going through them one is apt to feel that they were written either to his dictation or, at any rate, under his direction. Thus they are intended to reproduce and preserve the very words of the Maurya emperor.

B. M. Barua: *Aśoka And His Inscriptions*, part II. p. 62

PILLAR EDICT VII

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

The kings who were in times past, desired thus, (*viz.,*) that the people might progress by the promotion of Dharma.

But the people did not progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.

On this, the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

This occurred to me—

In times past kings also desired thus, (*viz.*) that the people might progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.

But the people did not progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma.

Now, by what means could the people (be induced to) follow (Dharma), by what means could the people (be made to) progress by the adequate promotion of Dharma, (and) by what means could I elevate them by the promotion of Dharma ?

On this, the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

This occurred to me—

I shall cause Dharma proclamations to be announced, (and) shall order Dharma instructions (to be issued).

Hearing these, the people will follow (Dharma), will elevate themselves, and will progress considerably by the promotion of Dharma.

For this purpose, Dharma proclamations were announced by me, (and) manifold Dharma instructions were ordered, in order that (my) officers too, who are occupied among many people, should advocate as well explain them in detail.

The Rajjukas too are occupied among many hundred thousands of people.

They too were ordered by me (thus)—"in such and such manner exhort ye the people, being (yourselves) devoted to Dharma."

The Beloved of the gods, Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

Having this very (object) in view, I set up Dharma pillars, appointed Dharma-Mahāmātras, (and) announced Dharma proclamations.

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

Banyan trees were caused to be planted by me on the roadside (in order that) they should provide shade for animals and men (and) mango-groves were caused to be planted also.

At interval of eight *krośas,* wells were caused to be dug by me and rest-houses were caused to be built, (and) numerous drinking-places were caused to be constructed by me at various places for the use of animals and men.

But of little avail are these utilities.

With various comforts indeed the people were made happy by former kings as well as by me.

'Let them follow these Dharma practices'—for this purpose were these done by me.

The Beloved of the gods, Priyadarśin spoke thus:

They, my Dharma-Mahāmātras too are occupied with various kinds of beneficent objects, and they are also occupied among all the sects of ascetics as well as among householders.

Concerning the affairs of the Saṅgha too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They (the Dharma-Mahāmātras) shall be occupied.'

Likewise concerning the Brāhmaṇas (and) the Ājīvikas too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They shall be occupied.'

Concerning the Nirgranthas too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They shall be occupied.'

Concerning various (other) sects too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They shall be occupied—different Mahāmātras for the particular affairs of different sects.'

And my Dharma-Mahāmātras are occupied with these (sects) as well as with all the other sects.

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, spoke thus:

These as well as many other principal (officers) are occupied with the distribution of gifts, mine as well as the queens'.

And in all my female apartments, they organise in manifold ways various charitable activities, here as well as in the provinces.

In respect of (the distribution of gifts by my) sons and by the sons of other queens too, (this) has been ordered by me—'They shall be occupied with the distribution of (their) gifts.'

[The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:]

For the purpose of (promoting) noble deeds of Dharma and for the practice of Dharma, [Dharma-proclamations and Dharma-rescripts were ordered by me].

These indeed are the noble deeds of Dharma and the practice of Dharma, *viz.*—'Thus will increase (the practice) by the people of these (virtues) *viz.*,—compassion, charity, truthfulness, purity, gentleness and goodness.'

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

Whatever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people accept (and) those they also practise.

Thereby has been promoted and will be promoted that which is respectfulness towards mother and father, that which is respectfulness towards elders, that which is deference towards the aged, (and) that which is proper behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, towards the poor and the unfortunate, (and) even towards slaves and servants.

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin spoke thus:

And this progress of men in Dharma has been promoted by both of these (two) means, (*viz.*) by Dharma regulations as well as by persuasion.

But of these (two means), of little avail (have been) the Dharma regulations, (whereas) by persuasion indeed (has been effected) much more.

Now, these are the Dharma regulations, (*viz.*) as it has been ordered by me —'These various (animals) are inviolable.'

And many too (are the) other Dharma regulations that have been ordered by me.

But it is by persuasion indeed that men's progress in Dharma has been promoted to a much greater extent in respect of non-injury to living beings (and) in respect of the non-killing of animals.

Concerning this, the Beloved of the gods said:

Wherever there are either stone-pillars or stone-slabs, thereon this Dharma-rescript is to be engraved, so that it may long endure.

Now, for this purpose has this been engraved that it may last as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall live and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine), and that men may practise (it) as instructed.

By practising (it) thus, (happiness) in this and in the next (world) is indeed attained.

This Dharma-rescript has been caused to be written by me (when) crowned twenty-seven years.

ROCK EDICT XII

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, honours (men of) all sects, ascetics and householders and honours (them) with gifts and manifold honour. But the Beloved of the gods does not think so much of gifts and honour as—what ? —As that there should be a growth of the essential among (men of) all sects. The growth of the essential, however, is of various kinds. But the root of it is restraint of speech,—how ?—Namely, there should not be any honour to one's own sect or condemnation of another's sect without any occasion; or it may be a little on this and that occasion. On the contrary, others' sects should be honoured on this and that occasion. By doing so one promotes one's own sect and benefits another's sect. By doing otherwise one injures one's own sect and also harms another's sect. For one who honours one's own sect and condemns

another's sect, all through attachment to one's own sect.—Why ?—In order that one may illuminate one's own sect. In reality by so doing one injures, more assuredly, one's own sect. Concourse is therefore commendable,—why ?—In order that they may hear and desire to hear (further) one another's Dharma. For this is the desire of the Beloved of the gods,—What ?—That all sects shall be well informed and conducive of good. And those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed: "The Beloved of the gods does not so much think of gifts or honour as—What ?—As that there may be a growth of the essential among all sects and also mutual appreciation". For this end are engaged the Dharma-Mahāmātras, Superintendents of women, the Vrajabhūmikas and other bodies (of officials). And this is its fruit—the exaltation of one's own sect and the illumination of Dhamma.

BARĀBAR HILL CAVE INSCRIPTIONS[1]

A—This Banyan cave was given to the Ājīvikas by King Priyadarśin when he had been anointed twelve years.

B—This cave in the Khalatika Hill was given to the Ājīvikas, when he had been anointed twelve years.

C—When the king Priyadarśin was anointed nineteen years, this cave in the very pleasant Khalatika hill was given by me to the Ājīvikas, for the sake of (shelter from) the approach of roar of waters (*i.e.* rain-water).[2]

SEPARATE KALINGA ROCK EDICT I

(No. XV)

The Mahāmātras of Tosalī who are the judicial officers of the city, are addressed in the following words of the Beloved of the gods.

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out by deeds and accomplish it by proper means. And I consider the following to be the principal means to this end, *viz.* to impart instructions to you. For you are placed by me over many thousands of beings with the object that we may gain the affection of all men.

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire also in regard to all men. But you do not understand how far my intention goes in this respect. A few amongst you perchance understand it: but even such of you understand it partly and not fully. Howsoever well-placed you may be, you have to pay attention to this matter.

In the administration of justice, it sometimes happens that some persons suffer imprisonment or harsh treatment. In such cases, a person may accidentally obtain an order cancelling his imprisonment, while many other persons in the same condition continue to suffer for a long time. In such a circumstance, you should desire to deal with all of them impartially.

But an officer fails to act impartially owing to the following dispositions, *viz.* jealousy, anger, cruelty, hastiness, want of perseverance, laziness and fatigue. Therefore you should desire that these dispositions may not be yours.

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[1] These three inscriptions are found in different caves of the Barābar hill in Bihar, 15 miles north of Gaya and 8 miles from Bela station on the Patna-Gaya rail-line.

[2] The third was possibly caused to be engraved not by Aśoka himself but by an anonymous donor. The real donor might probably have been Asoka's mother, or one of his queens or one of his sons or grandsons.

And the root of the complete success of an officer lies in the absence of anger and avoidance of hastiness. In the matter of the administration of justice, an officer does not get up for work if he is fatigued; but he has to move, to walk and to advance. Whoever amongst you pays attention to this, should tell other officers: 'Pay attention to nothing except the duties assigned to you by the king. Such and such are the instructions of the Beloved of the gods.' The observance of this duty will produce great results for you; non-observance will produce great harm . . .

SEPARATE KALIṄGA ROCK EDICT II

(No. XVI)

Thus saith the Beloved of the gods.

The following royal order must be addressed to the Mahāmātras stationed at Samāpā.

As regards whatever good I notice, I desire that I may carry it out . . .

All men are my children. Just as, in regard to my own children, I desire that they may be provided by me with all kinds of welfare and happiness in this world and in the next, the same I desire in respect of all men.

The following question may occur to the people of the unconquered territories lying beyond the borders of my dominions: 'What is the king's desire in respect of us ?' The following alone is my wish. It should be realized by the peoples living on the borders, *viz.* that the king desires that they should be unworried on his account, that they should have confidence in him, and that they should expect from him only happiness and no misery. The following also should be realized by them, *viz.* that the king will forgive them in respect of any offence that is pardonable. My desire is that they should practise the duties associated with Dharma for my sake and that they should attain happiness in this world as well as in the next.

Now, I instruct you for the following purpose, *viz.* that I may free myself from the debt I owe to the people inhabiting the lands beyond the borders of my dominions by having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow.

Therefore, acting accordingly, you should perform your duties. You should also inspire the people of the bordering lands with confidence in me, so that they might realize that the king is to them even as their father, that he sympathises with them even as he sympathises with his own self, and that they are to the king even as his own children. . . .

Having instructed you and informed you of my will as well as my unshakable resolution and vow, I feel that my appeal to you in this respect will be known to the people of the whole country. Indeed you are capable of inspiring them with confidence in me and securing their welfare and happiness in this world and in the next. And, by so doing, you will attain heaven and discharge the debt you owe to me.

So this record has been written here on stone for the following purpose, *viz.* that the Mahāmātras should strive to do their duty at all times in order to inspire the people living on the borders of my dominions with confidence in me and to induce them to practise the duties associated with Dharma. . . .

ROCK EDICT XIII

". . . And the conquest considered to be the chiefest by the Beloved of the gods, is the conquest through Dhamma. And that again has been achieved by the Beloved of the gods here and in the bordering dominions, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where (dwell) the Yona king called Aṁtiyoga (Antiochus II) and, beyond this Aṁtiyoga, the four kings called

Turamaya, Aṁtekina, Maga, and Alikasu(ṁ)dara,[1]—(likewise) down below, where are the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, as far as the Tāmraparṇīyas—likewise here in the king's dominions among the Yavanas and Kambojas, the Nābhakas and the Nābhapaṁtis, the hereditary Bhoja rulers, Andhras and Pārimdras, everywhere they follow the teachings of the Beloved of the gods in respect of Dhamma. Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the gods do not go, they, bearing the message of Dhamma, the ordinances, and the instructions in Dhamma by the Beloved of the gods, practise Dhamma and will so practise. And the conquest which is thereby achieved, everywhere becomes a conquest flavoured with love. That love has been attained (by me) in the conquest through Dhamma. A petty thing however, is that love. That which concerns the next world, the Beloved of the gods esteems, as alone bearing great fruit. And this edict of Dhamma is engraved for this purpose—Why ?—In order that whosoever may be, my sons and great grandsons, may not think of new conquest as worth achieving, that in regard to a conquest, possible only through (the use) of arrows, they may prefer forbearance and lightness of punishment, and that they may regard that to be the (real) conquest which is a conquest through Dhamma. That is good for here and hereafter . . ."

ROCK EDICT I

This Dharma-rescript has been caused to be written by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin.

Here (in my dominion) no living beings are to be killed and offered in sacrifice.

And no festive gatherings (*samājāḥ*) are to be held. The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin sees much evil in festive gatherings. But there are festive gatherings of some kinds too which are approved by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin.

Formerly in the kitchen of the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, many hundred thousands of animals were killed every day for the sake of curry. But now when this Dharma-rescript is written, only three animals are being killed (everyday) for the sake of curry, (*viz.*) two peacocks (and) one deer, (and) the deer again, not always. Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

ROCK EDICT II

Everywhere in the dominion of the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin and likewise among (his) Borderers, such as the Coḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, up to Tāmraparṇī, the Yona king Aṁtiyoka, and also those kings who are the neighbours of that Aṁtiyoka—everywhere (provision) has been made by the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, (for) two (kinds of) medical treatment, (*viz.*) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

[1] Aṁtiyoka is Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B.C.), king of Syria and Turamaya, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247). Amtekina or Amtikini corresponds to the Greek Antigenus rather than Antigonus. But as no king named Antigenus is known, Amtekini has been identified with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239). Maga is Magas of Cyrene (c. 300-c. 250). There is some doubt about Alikasuṁdara who, according to some, was Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) and according to others, Alexander of Corinth (252-c. 244). In Rock Edict II, Antiochus alone is mentioned and the other princes referred to as his *sāmantas* or bordering kings. There is no doubt that of these Greek princes Antiochus alone had his dominions conterminous with those of Aśoka. We also know that there had been friendly relations and dispatch of embassies between the Seleukidan and Mauryan dynasties since the time of Chandragupta.

And wherever there are no (medicinal) herbs that are suitable for men and suitable for animals, everywhere (such) have been caused to be brought and caused to be planted.

And wherever there are no (medicinal) roots and fruits, everywhere (such) have been caused to be brought and caused to be planted.

And on the roads, wells have been caused to be dug and trees have been caused to be planted, for the use of animals and men.

NĪGLĪVĀ (NIGĀLĪSĀGAR) PILLAR INSCRIPTION

The beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, (when) crowned fourteen years, enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Kanakamuni (Konāgamana)[1] to double (its former size) And (when) crowned (twenty) years, himself came (here) worshipped (and a stone-pillar) was erected.

ROCK EDICT VI

. . . At all times (whether) I am eating (or I am) in the female apartments (or) in the bed-chamber or in the chariot or in the palanquin or in the parks, everywhere Reporters have been posted (with the instructions)—'Report to me the affairs of the people,' and everywhere I dispose of the affairs of the people . . .

I am never content with exerting (myself) or with the dispatch of business. The welfare of all the people is considered by me as (my) duty indeed. And the root of that again (is) this (*viz.*) exertion and dispatch of business.

There is indeed no better work than the welfare of all the people. And whatever efforts I am making are in order that I may discharge (my) debts to (all) beings, that I may make them happy here (in this life) and that they may attain heaven in the next (life).

PILLAR EDICT II

(The Dharma that Priyadarśin preached)

. . . But what constitutes Dharma ?

(These constitute Dharma, *viz.*)—little sin, many good deeds, mercifulness, charity, truthfulness (and) purity . . . .

PILLAR EDICT III

. . . These are called the ways to sin, *viz.*—fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride (and) envy . . .

ROCK EDICT III

. . . Everywhere in my dominion, the Yuktas, the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas shall go out on tour every five years for this special purpose (*viz.*) for these Dharma instructions—as also for other business—

Commendable is respectfulness towards mother and father; gifts to friends, acquaintances, relatives, (and) to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas are commendable; non-killing of animals is commendable; moderation in spending (and) moderation in (owning) possessions are commendable . . .

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[1] Seven Buddhas are mentioned in the earlier texts and frequently referred to (comp. the seven Ṛṣis of the Vedic period). They are (*i*) Vipassī (*ii*) Sikhī (*iii*) Vessabhū (*iv*) Kakusandha (*v*) Konāgamana (*vi*) Kassapa (*vii*) Gotama. *Cf. D.* II. 2-7; *S.* II. 5-11; Comp. *Thera°*, 490-1; *J.* II. 147.

ROCK EDICT IV

. . . The non-killing of animals, non-injury to living beings, proper behaviour towards relatives, proper behaviour towards Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, respectfulness towards mother (and) father (and) respectfulness towards the aged.

These and many other kinds of Dharma practices have increased, and the Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin, will ever (continue to) promote this practice of Dharma . . .

ROCK EDICT IX

. . . Women perform manifold and various kinds of petty and meaningless auspicious ceremonies.

Now, auspicious ceremonies should certainly be performed, but of little fruit indeed are auspicious ceremonies such as these.

But of great fruit is this auspicious ceremony, *viz.* the auspicious ceremony of Dharma. In it these (are contained)—proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable deference towards elders; commendable gentleness towards animals; commendable gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas—these and similar other (virtues) are called the auspicious ceremonies of Dharma . . .

ROCK EDICT XI

. . . There is no gift like the gift of Dharma, or acquaintance through Dharma, or the distribution of Dharma, or kinship through Dharma.

Therein these take place—proper behaviour towards slaves and servants; commendable respectfulness towards mother (and) father; commendable gifts to friends, acquaintances, relatives, (and) to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas; commendable non-killing of animals . . .

ROCK EDICT VII

(Aśoka's impartiality towards all religious sects)

The Beloved of the gods, King Priyadarśin desires that all sects should reside everywhere (for) all of them wish (to acquire) self-control and purity of mind.

But men are of various temperaments and of various preferences (and) they will perform the whole, or they will perform (only) a part (of their duties).

But in spite of (receiving) large gifts, those who have no self-control, or purity of mind, or gratitude and firm devotion, are mean indeed.

PILLAR EDICT VI

. . . To the welfare and happiness of people, I direct (my) attention.

As (I do) this regarding (my) relatives, likewise (I do) regarding those who are near (and) likewise regarding those who are far away (thinking) 'How can I bring them happiness,' and I act accordingly.

In the same manner, I direct my attention to all classes (of the people).

All the (religious) sects too have been honoured by me with various (kinds of) honours . . .

See also Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict XII and Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions quoted above.

BAIRĀṬ BUDDHIST TEXT EDICT

King Priyadarśin, the Māgadha, having saluted the Saṅgha said: (I wish you) good health and happy living.

It is known to you, Sirs, how great are my reverence for and faith in Buddha, Dharma (and) the Saṅgha.

Whatever, Sirs, has been spoken by the Blessed Buddha, all that is well-spoken indeed.

And, Sirs, what would appear to me as 'Thus will the true Dharma be of long duration'—that I may be permitted to speak of.

These Dharma texts, Sirs, (*viz.*)—the *Vinaya-samutkarṣa*[1], the *Ārya-vāsa*[2] the *Anāgata-bhayas*[3], the *Muni-gāthā*[4], the *Mauneya-sūtra*[5], the *Upatiṣya-praśna*[6] and the *Rāhulāvavāda*[7] which was spoken by the Blessed Buddha concerning false speech—these Dharma texts, Sirs, I desire that most (of the) monks and nuns may constantly listen to and remember.

Likewise lay men and lay women too.

For this (purpose), Sirs, I am causing this to be written, that the Venerable Ones may know my intention.

THE GREEK VERSION OF THE KANDAHAR BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION OF AŚOKA[8]

An inscription of exceptional documentary interest, discovered in the surroundings of the ancient site of Kandahar, East of Persia and Bactria, has been recently published by the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East: G. Pugliese Carratelli has edited the Greek part and G. Levi Della Vida the Aramaic text intermingled with Iranianisms[9]. It is a proclamation addressed to all mankind, which in a general way can be compared to the other Indian decrees of Aśoka, the Maurya king called Piadassi ("the friendly-looking"), who was contemporary to Antiochus II, Antiochus Gonata, Alexander II of Epirus, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt[10].

The first news of the discovery was given by U. Scerrato in "East & West"[11]. Shortly after the same review the IsMEO published a paper by Fr. Altheim and Ruth Stiehl[12].

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[1] *Vinaya-samukase—Vinaya-samukkaṁsa*—"select passages from the Vinaya," *cf. Atthavasa-vagga* in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, I. 98-100.

[2] *Aliya-vasāṇi—Ariya-vāsā* (*dasa*) "The excellent state of mind," *Dīgha-Nikāya*, III. 269, 291; *Aṅguttara°*, V. 29.*

[3] *Anāgata-bhayāni* (*pañca*), *Aṅguttara°*, III. 100-10.

[4] *Muni-gāthā—Muni-sutta, Sutta-Nipāta*, I. 12 (*sutta*).

[5] *Moneya-sūte—Nālaka-sutta, Ibid.*, III. 11 (*sutta*). †

[6] *Upatisa-pasine—Sāriputta-sutta*, "What Upatissa (Sāriputta) asked," *Ibid.*, IV. 16. §

[7] *Lāghulovāde—Rāhulovāda*, "Instruction to Rāhula (son of Gautama)" *cf. Ambalaṭṭhika-Rāhulovāda-sutta, Majjhima°*, I. 414-20.

* D. R. Bhandarkar: *Āriya-vaṁsa, Aṅguttara°*, II. 27

† A. C. Sen: *Moneyya-sutta* (*Āpāyikavagga*, 2), *Aṅguttara°*, I. 273

§ Bhandarkar: *Rathavinīta-sutta, Majjhima°*, I. 145-51

[8] Quoted from an article by Carlo Gallovotti. Vide *East and West*, IsMEO, Rome, New Series, Vol. 10. No. 3, September 1959, pp. 185-189.

[9] *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka*, with a preface by G. Tucci and an introduction by U. Scerrato, "IsMEO" Rome, 1958, p. 35.

[10] See the Edict XIII in J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris 1950, and the commentary of G. Pugliese in "Par. d. Pass.", 1953, 449 ff.

[11] vol. 9, Nos. 1-2, 1958, pp. 4-6.

[12] *The Aramaic version of the Kandahar bilingual inscription of Aśoka, ibid.*, pp. 192-8.

Quite independently of the Italian works, a full commentary on this inscription was made by another group of eminent scholars for the "Société Asiatique" of Paris: D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste[1].

Such a great amount of interesting study shows how important this discovery is because of the information supplied by it and the problems which arise from it. The enthusiastic eagerness of the scholars has rapidly led to a thorough explanation of the document from the topographical, linguistic, epigraphical and especially historical point of view. Interesting deductions can be made for what concerns the Hellenization of this farthest part of Arachosia, following the times of Alexander the Great, and the ethnographic and linguistic conditions of the Indian Empire in this Western outpost, stretching into the Iranian area, after the treaty signed by Seleucus I and Sandrakottos (Candragupta), the founder of the Maurya dynasty and the grandfather of Aśoka, in 305 *i.e.*, twenty-five years after the Macedonian conquest.

The proclamation belongs to the tenth year of Aśoka's reign, *i.e.*, 259-8 according to Eggermont's chronology[2]. From the interpretation of the first sentence it will be seen more clearly that the edict published in this border region was drawn up in the tenth year after consecration of the King, and therefore in the same period of the "Buddhistic" demonstration of Aśoka, as an expression of the *dhamma*, his rule of mercy and truth. In this period the King made a pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, the place where Buddha obtained the perfect enlightenment. The "departure towards enlightenment", as mentioned in Edict VIII, probably marked a revival in favour of the social standards imposed by Aśoka after the slaughterous war for the conquest of Kaliṅga (Edict XIII, in the eighth year after the consecration).

. . . The two versions of the Alexandropolis brief correspond very closely. The Greek version is divided into three short paragraphs, characterised by a certain rhythmic style: the proclamation of the *dhamma* is found in the first paragraph, some particular rules in the second section, the promise of awards in the third one. Therefore the Greek text can be divided and translated in the following way:

"After ten full years King Piodasse had the text of Mercy published to men and from this moment he made men merciful and everything prospers all over the earth.

And the King abstains from (eating) living creatures, and so also do other men; and those who are hunters and fishers of the King cease from hunting; and if there are people who are incontinent they cease from incontinence by exerting every effort, and they obey their fathers, mothers and elders too.

In present life and in future time they will find themselves in better and preferable conditions from every point of view, if they behave in that way".

English Translation of The Greek Inscription:

At the end of the tenth year (of his reign or from his consecration) King Piodasses (Piyadassi) made known unto men the (doctrine of) mercy and from this moment made men more merciful, and everything prospers over the whole earth; and the king forbears from (killing) living beings, and other men and whoever "is" the king's hunter or fisherman have forborne from hunting; and if some "were" intemperate, they have curbed their intemperance as far as was within their power; and, obedient to their father and mother and to their elders, as compared with the past, also in the future more pleasantly and better(=better and more pleasantly than in the past) shall they live, having thus informed their whole behaviour.

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[1] *Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d' Aśoka*, "Journal Asiatique," 246, 1958, pp. 1-6 (Introduction), 7-18 (Observations sur l'inscription grecque), 19-35 (L' inscription araméenne), 36-48 (Les données iraniennes).

[2] *The Chron. of the reign of Asoka Moriya*, Leiden 1956.

English Translation of The Aramaic Inscription:

In the year 10, *justice*[1] (or: *conversion*) was made of Our Lord, the King Priyadars, according to well-directed righteousness. Since a short time, he has abolished evil for all men and all *living beings*(?), and over the whole earth, and also *everywhere*(?)[2]. And also those who *are in charge*(?) of (providing) food for our Lord the King are killing little; this (happens) in order that all the men (who are) hunters and fishers may see those men *proclaiming* thus: 'those who are *evil-minded*(?), they kill; he who is *pious* and *obedient* to his mother and father and the *elder* people, as they have warned him, will greatly add to the good luck and unimpeachability of everybody for everybody, with enhancement and addition."

Vide Un Editto Bilingue Greco-Aramaico Di Aśoka, Roma, 1958, pp. 33-34.

[1] Words of Iranian origin are printed in italics.

[2] Or: "...he benefits all men and all *living beings*(?) with *happiness*, and over the whole earth, and with *joy*". Or else: "...he sets righteousness right (or: makes truth true)...for everybody's knowledge and has abolished all *evils*, and over the whole earth, and has also founded(?)".

APPENDIX C

NOTES

EXPLANATIONS, TEXTUAL CRITICISM & REFERENCES

Upagupta, a Buddha-without-the-auspicious marks is identified with: **Moggaliputta Tissa Thera***. He was the President of the third council. In his penultimate birth, he was a Brahmā, called Tissa. He consented to be born in the world of men at the urgent request of the Arahants who held the second council, in order to prevent the downfall of Buddha's Law. He was born in the family of the Brāhmaṇa Moggali of Pāṭaliputta. Siggava and Caṇḍavajji had been entrusted with the task of converting him. For seven years after he was born, Siggava went daily to the house of Moggali, but not even a word of welcome did he receive. In the eighth year, some one said to him, "Go further on." As he went out he met Moggali, and being asked whether he had received anything from his house, he said he had. Moggali inquired at home and the next day charged Siggava with lying. But hearing Siggava's explanation, he was greatly pleased and thereafter, constantly offered Siggava hospitality in his house. One day, young Tissa who was thoroughly proficient in the Vedas, was much annoyed when he saw Siggava occupying his seat. He spoke to him harshly. But Siggava began to speak and asked him a question from the *Cittayamaka*. Tissa could not answer it. In order to learn the teachings of Buddha, he entered the Order under Siggava and became a *Sotāpanna* soon after. Siggava instructed him in the Vinaya while Caṇḍavajji in the Sutta and the Abhidhamma Piṭakas. In due course he attained Arahantship and became the acknowledged leader of the monks at Pāṭaliputta[1].

At the festival of the dedication of the *Aśokārāma* and the other *Vihāras* built by Aśoka, Moggaliputta Tissa told Aśoka, in answer to a question, that one becomes a kinsman of Buddha's Law only by allowing one's son or daughter to enter the Order. Acting according to this suggestion, Aśoka had both his son and daughter ordained. Moggaliputta acted as Mahinda's *upajjhāya*[2]. Later on, because of the great gains which accrued to the monks through Aśoka's patronage of Buddha's Law, the Order became corrupt. Moggaliputta put the monks in charge of Mahinda and for seven years lived in solitary retreat on the Ahogaṅgā-pabbata. Aśoka sent for him to solve his doubts as to what measure of sin belonged to him owing to the murder of the monks by his minister. But Moggaliputta would not come until he was convinced that his services were needed for the sake of the Law. He travelled by boat to Pāṭaliputta and was received at the landing place by the king who helped him to land, by supporting him on his arm[3]. The king having led him to the Rativaḍḍhana park, requested him to perform a miracle. The *Thera* agreed and made the earth quake in a single region. To convince the king that the murder of the monks involved no guilt for the king, the *Thera* preached to him the *Tittira Jātaka*. Within a week, with the help of two *yakkhas*, the king had all the monks gathered together and held an assembly at the *Aśokārāma*. In the presence of Moggaliputta, Aśoka questioned the monks on their different doctrines and all those holding heretical views were expelled from the Order. Moggaliputta declared that the *Vibhajjavāda* alone contained the teaching of Buddha. Later on, with one thousand Arahants, Moggaliputta held the third council at *Aśokārāma* with himself as president, and compiled the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa* in refutation of the false views. This was in the seventeenth

*Waddell, J. A. S. B., 1897, pt. i, p. 76; Proceedings, A.S.B., 1899, p. 70; Smith, *Early History of India,* 4th ed. p. 199 fn.

[1] *Mhv.* v. 95 ff., 131ff., *Dpv.* v. 55ff., *Sp.* i.35-41.

[2] *Mhv.* v. 191ff., *Sp.* i. 50f.

[3] According to *Sp.* i. 58, the king had a dream in the preceding night which the soothsayers interpreted to mean that a great ascetic (*samaṇanāga*) would touch his right hand. When the *Thera* touched the king's hand the attendants were about to kill him, for to do this was a crime punishable by death. The king, however, restrained them. The *Thera* took the king's hand as a sign that he accepted him as his pupil.

year of Aśoka's reign, and Moggaliputta was then seventy-two years old[1]. At the closing of the council which continued for nine months, Moggaliputta made arrangements, in the month of *Kattika*, for monks to go to the countries adjacent to India for the propagation of the Law[2]. Afterwards when the request came from Ceylon for a branch of the Bodhi-tree, Aśoka consulted the Elder as to how this could be carried out. Moggaliputta then told him of the five resolves made by Buddha in his death-bed[3].

The *Dīpavaṁsa*[4] says that Moggaliputta Tissa's ordination was in the second year of Candagutta's (Chandragupta's) reign, when Siggava was sixty-four years old. Candagutta reigned for twenty-four years, and was followed by Bindusāra who reigned for thirty-seven years and he was succeeded by Aśoka. In the sixth year of Aśoka's reign, Moggaliputta was sixty-six years old and it was then that he ordained Mahinda. He was eighty years old at the time of his death and had been the leader of the Order for sixty-eight years. He died in the twenty-sixth year of Asoka's reign. *Vide* G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, pp, 664-6.

PĀṀŚUPRADĀNĀVADĀNA

Page 1 **atapyat:** As there is no final verb in this sentence, I have adopted *atapyat* in place of *tāvat.* The root *tap,* cl. 4, is used in *ātmanepada,* but forms in *parasmaipada,* such as, *tapyati, tapyet, atapyat* etc. are found in the Epics and *Kathāsaritsāgara* (x. 4.). **sammārjita :** As this word does not fit in here, I have adopted *sāvarjitam, i.e.* devotedly, or with an inclined mind. The metre of this *śloka* is Vasantatilaka. **avavādaka** a spiritual instructor or adviser; *cf.* Pali: *ovādaka.* **vāsava :** It seems to be *vasavaḥ* (*cf. vasu*). The word is taken in its plural form, such as *viśvadevāḥ* etc. **dharmya** in accordance with the Dharma; *cf.* Pali: *dhammiya,°mmika.*

Page 2 **upaguptopākhyānam:** Names of chapters of this *Avadāna* are given by me in accordance with the Chinese translations. **Apalālanāga :** A naga king converted by Buddha. It is not found in the canonical works. In the *Samantapāsādikā* (iv. 742) the story of conversion of Apalāla is given. In the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* and other Mahāyāna works, we find that during Kāśyapa Buddha's time Apalāla had been a powerful man called Gaṅgi. By means of his magic, he subdued the dragons that attacked the country and the people in gratitude agreed to give him tribute. Later on, some of them forgot their promise and Apalāla in wrath, became a dragon after his death. Buddha saw him and preached to him. He was converted. *Cf. Sanskrit Buddhism,* by Nariman, pp. 194-247. **Kumbhakārī, Caṇḍālī:** Conversion of these two is not found in Pali works. **Caṇḍālī:** *Vide Śārdūlakarṇāvadānam* where Prakṛti, the Caṇḍāla girl was converted by Buddha. **Gopālī, Gopikā(Gopī):** She led a virtuous life; and according to the teaching of Buddha had cultivated the thoughts of a man. After death, she was born as a *deva-putta* (son of a god). *D.* ii. 271-5. **gopāla-nāgadamanam :** *Vide* the 56th *avadāna, Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.* **vi-nī** train, educate, guide, convert. **alakṣaṇa-buddha** a Buddha without the (32) marks on his body. **kleśa** *rāga, doṣa* (*dveṣa*), *moha,* attachment or lust, anger or ill-will, and delusion or bewilderment. **śalākā** a ticket consisting of slips of wood used in voting and distributing food; vote, lot. **śrāvaka** a hearer, disciple (never an Arhat who has attained the Summum Bonum). **Urumuṇḍa:** In the MSS. we find also Rurumuṇḍa. Ch read Ur°; so also *Bodhisattvāvadāna°. Vide* 73 *Avadāna,* verse 26. **Śāṇaka-vāsin, Śāṇa-vāsa:** In Pali literature we find a Thera called Sambhūta Thera. He joined the Order under Ānanda after Buddha's death. He was called Sāṇa-vāsī because of his wearing a hempen (saṇa) robe. *Vin.,* ii. 298 f., 303 ff. *Mhv.* iv. 18, 57; *Sp.* i. 34f. In the Chinese

[1] *Mhv.* v. 231-81. *Dpv.* vii. 16ff., 39ff., *Sp.* i. 57 ff.

[2] For a list of these, see *Mhv.* xii. 1ff., *Dpv.* viii. 1ff., *Sp.* i. 63 ff.

[3] *Mhv.* xviii. 21ff.

[4] *Dpv.* v. 68ff. 82, 94, 96. 100f. 107f. also. vii. 23ff.

translations the Thera is called Śāṇa-vāsa. In the *Ratnamālāvadāna* and *Bodhisattvāvadāna°*, he is called Śāṇa-vāsin and described as the Guru of Upagupta. *Vide* p. 145; and *Avadāna* 71, respectively.

Page 3. **śamatha** quietude of heart; meditation characterized by the one-pointedness of the mind; *Vide Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā* (viii). **araṇyāyatana** a forest haunt (place of frequent resort). **etarhi** now, at present; *cf.* Pali; *cf.* also Vedic texts, *TS.*, *ŚB.*, *AB.*, *TB.* 3.1.2.19; also Class. *Kirāt*, 1.32. **vinipatita-śarīra** "the fallen body" or "one whose body is fallen"; *śarīreṇa* "with the fallen body" or "with his fallen body" *i.e.*, in former existence or with the body of his former existence. **pārśva** It is rarely used in masculine gender. **Pratyeka-Buddha, °Bodhi:** Buddha who (without the help of a teacher, *anācāryaka*) has attained to the Supreme wisdom (Bodhi) and perfect insight but dies without proclaiming the Truth to the world is a Pratyeka-Buddha. The Enlightenment (Bodhi) of such a Buddha is called Pratyekā Bodhi: *cf.* Pali: *Pacceka°*. **vṛddhānta, navānta** *vṛddhāntika, navāntika* (to the novice) *cf.* Pali: *odakāntika* etc. **parinirvāṇa, °vṛta** "complete Nirvāṇa" in two meanings: 1. Complete extinction of *skandha*-life; that is, all possibility of such life and its re-birth, final release from (the misery of) rebirth and transmigration; death (after the last life-span of an Arhat). 2. Release from cravings and attachment to life, emancipation (in this life) with the assurance of final death; freedom of spirit, calm, perfect well-being or peace of soul. **cīvara-karṇika** the lappet of a monk's robe; *cf.* Pali: *cīvara-kaṇṇa*. **markaṭaś cintayati niyatam ete kālagatā bhaviṣyanti=abhavan** or **bhaveyuḥ**. Here is a peculiar use of future tense. **paridevitvā=paridevya:** Such grammatically incorrect forms of gerund are frequently found in the text. Such wrong use of gerund is seen in old works: *upoṣitvā, Mahābhārata*, 13.136.11; *nivartayitvā, Ibid*, 14.52.57.

Page 4. **kaṇṭakāpāśraya** *cf.* Pali: *°āpassaya;* a bed made of an out-stretched skin under which are placed thorns or iron spikes; to lie or stand on such a bed is a practice of certain naked ascetics. *°āpassayika:* "bed-of-thorns-man." **pañcātapāvasthita, pañca-tapas,: °tapa** sitting between five sacred fires: (*i*) *anvāhāryapacana*, or *dakṣiṇa*, (*ii*) *gārhapatya* (*iii*) *āhavanīya* (*iv*) *sabhya* and (*v*) *āvasathya;* maintaining the five sacred fires or one fire towards each of the four quarters and the sun overhead; *cf.* also: *pañcāgni, pañcātapā, f. Kālikā-Purāṇa*. See also *Manu-Saṁhitā*, vi. 23. **īryā-patha** Pali: *iriyā-patha* way of deportment, mode of movement, good behaviour. There are four *iriyā* or postures, *viz.*, walking, standing, sitting, lying down. **vikopay** to shake up, upset, spoil, do harm, destroy. **bodhipakṣa-dharma** qualities or items consisting or contributing to Bodhi; usually they are thirty-seven but they are also increased to forty-three. **āmukhīkṛ** to make visible. **āgamya** owing to, relating to, by means of, thanks to; *cf.* Pali.

Page 5. **samanvāhṛ** to concentrate the mind, to reflect: *cf.* Pali: *samannāharati*. **upāyena** by artifice or means of a trick; Pali. **abhiprasādita** one whose faith is established; *cf.* Pali: *abhippasādeti* to establish one's faith in. *abhiprasanna* having faith in. **paścācchramaṇa** a junior Bhikṣu who follows a senior; the Śramaṇa who accompanies, as Ānanda accompanied Buddha. **jarādharma** subject to growing old; *cf.* Pali; old.

Page 7. **abhirūpa, darśanīya, prāsādika** handsome, fair to behold, amiable; Pali phrase. See *Kunālāvadāna*, p. 105. **jātimaha** birthday-festival. **alābho'nuccheda** "no profit no loss"; neither profit nor loss. **sarvāvatī** *sarvā; cf.* Pali: *sabbāvant*. **cittacaitasika** Pali & Div. *°ceta°* mind and all that belongs to it, mind and mental properties. **kliṣṭa** impure, unclean, lustful, bad.

Page 8. **yadi kevalaṁ cittaṁ parijñātuṁ śakyasi pratipakṣaṁ mocayituṁ:** "If you can (could) cast off the obstacles and understand the mind thoroughly." **kevalaṁ** entirely, thoroughly; Pali. **aśubhā (-bhāvanā)** contemplation on the impurities (of the body; such as: contemplation on a dead body, skeleton, etc.). **buddhānusmṛti** mindfulness of Buddha, reflection or meditation on Buddha.

Page 9. **purāṇa** a particular (gold or silver) coin; *karṣa*. **prābhṛta** present, gift, offering (esp. to a deity or a sovereign) *cf. prabhṛti, f.* bringing forward,

offering (of a sacrifice or praise) *RV. AV.*; *prabhṛtha*, m. offering, oblation; *prābhṛtaka*, n. present, gift, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act v.; (below verse 14). Pali: *pābhati*, n. present, bribe, price, money. **avaskara** refuse; slop-basin, ash-bin; *cf.* Pali: *avakkāra.*

Page 10. **choray** to abandon, leave, reject, throw away: *cf.* Pali: *chaḍḍeti.* **yadā praśastāmbarasaṁvṛtāṅgī:** The second *pāda* of this Upajāti is in Vaṁśastha metre. **svabhāva-niyata** dependent on its nature, bound in its nature (of instability). **upasthāyaka** a nurse, attendant.

Page 11. **kāma-rāga** sensual passion, lust; *cf.* Pali. **paṭṭaka** a bandage. **idaṁ yadā paṅkajagarbhakomalaṁ:** Vaṁśastha is the metre. **etarhi kiṁ draṣṭum ihāgato'si me:** A combination of Vaṁśastha and Indravaṁsā. **pracchāditā vastravibhūṣaṇādyaiḥ:** This *śloka* is in Upajāti metre. **bhaved yathā ca:** *yathā ca (te) svabhāvo bhavet tathā tvaṁ na dṛṣṭā'si ity arthaḥ.*

Page 12. **kuṇapa** a dead body; also a living body. *Vide yasy ātmabuddhiḥ kuṇape tridhātuke°*; *cf. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, 10.84.13. **avakṛṣṭāvakṛṣṭasya:** "The body which is inferior to the inferiors is impure. Pure is the act of withdrawing (oneself) from sensual pleasures; (but) the sensual person considers it (body) as beautiful." Or "pure is the act of withdrawing the sensual person who considers the body as beautiful, from sensual pleasures." **śubha-sajñin** *cf. anitye nitya-sajñinaḥ, duḥkhe aduḥkha-sajñinaḥ, aśubhe śubha-sajñinaḥ;* etc. *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā-vṛtti*, xvi. p. 300; "considering as beautiful or pure"; or *cf.* Pali: *asubha-saññin*, "having an idea of or realizing the impurity (of the body)." **daurgandhyaṁ prativāryate:** This and the following *śloka* are in Śārdūlavikrīḍita. **mārga, mārga-plava,**= *dharma, dharma-nāva*; "boat of Dharma (Good Law)."

Page 13. **anupūrvikā kathā** a gradual instruction, graduated sermon, regulated exposition of the ever higher values of four subjects (*dānakathā* 'charity', *śīlakathā* 'righteousness', *svarga°* 'the heavens', *mārga°* 'the Path'. *Cf.* Pali: *anupubbi°*, *ānu°*. **satya** the four Noble Truths: (*i*) *duḥkha* (suffering), (*ii*) *samudaya* (the origin of suffering), (*iii*) *nirodha* (cessation of suffer°), (*iv*) *mārga* (the Way to the cessation of suffer°). **kāma-dhātu** 1. sensual pleasures, desires. 2. elements of desire *i.e.*, the world of desire, that sphere of existence in which sentient beings are still in the bonds of sensuality. **satya-abhisamaya** realization (*abhisamaya*) of the four Noble Truths. **anāgāmin** a never-returner, never returning to rebirth as a man; he will be born in one of the highest heavens and obtain Arhathood there. **srotāpatti** entering upon the stream (of the Noble Eightfold Path); conversion. **saṁrāgayanti** *ārāgayanti*, *cf.* Pali: *ārādheti* to please, propitiate; hence *saṁrāgayantī* means propitiating. **tavānubhāvāt pihitaḥ sughoro:** *cf. Avadānaśataka*, 27th *Avadāna.* **apāya** a transient state of loss and woe after death. Four such states are specified (*i*) purgatory (*ii*) rebirth as animal (*iii*) as ghost (*iv*) as titan (*asura*). **Nirvāṇa, Nirvṛti: Nirvāṇa** literally means "Extinction (of fire)." The Extinction (of fire) of Lust, Anger or Ill-Will and Delusion or Stupidity (*rāga, doṣa, moha*) is termed as Nirvāṇa or Nibbāna (Pali). *Vide Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iv. 251, 261. That the idea of extinction of fire was originally there when the word Nirvāṇa was used for Liberation is evidenced from the following expressions: "The Wise Ones attain Nibbāna (Extinction or Liberation) just as this lamp goes out (for want of fuel), *nibbanti dhīrā yathā'yaṁ padīpo.*" *Sutta-Nipāta*, 235. "Cooled am I in being Liberated (*lit.* being extinct). Cooled for want of fuel, *sītibhūto' smi nibbuto. sītibhūto nirūpadhi.*" *Vinaya°*, i. 8; ii. 156; *Aṅguttara°*, i. 138. "A fire has gone out for want of fuel (*lit.* food) *aggi. . . . anāhāro nibbuto.*" *Majjhima°*, i. 487. "As a fire would go out for want of fuel (*lit.* food) if, its supply being consumed, no further supply is forthcoming, *aggikkhandho purimassa ca upādānassa pariyādānā aññassa ca anupāhārā anāhāro nibbāyeyya.*" *Saṁyutta°*, ii. 85. For similar passages see *Sutta-Nipāta*, 1094; *Saṁyutta°*, i. 236. "Then having known perfectly that which is to be known (*i.e.*, having attained the Bodhi, the Supreme wisdom), He stood before the world as Buddha. He then realized the highest tranquillity, like a fire without fuel (*i.e.*, He realized Nirvāṇa)." *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa (*circa*, 50 B.C. and 50 A.D.), xiv. That

Nirvāṇa is not a negative thing but something positive is shown by the following descriptions: "Nirvāṇa is the greatest bliss." *Dhammapada*, verses, 203, 204: *Majjhima°*, i. 508-10; *Aṅguttara°*, iv. 414. "Nirvāṇa is a deathless state (*amṛta, amṛta-pada*)." *Majjhima°*, i. 167; *Dhammapada*, verses, 114, 374. "It is devoid of decay, death and sorrow." *Therīgāthā*, 512. "It is a fearless condition, a secure state (where there is no fear from any quarter, *akutobhaya*)." *Saṁyutta*, i. 192; *Itivuttaka*, 112. "It is tranquil, decayless and deathless. It is the highest state." *Buddhacarita*, xii. 106; "It is a fixed or permanent state (*dhruva*)," *Ibid, xiv.* "It is the most auspicious, happy or fortunate state (*śiva*)." *Sutta-Nipāta*, 478; *Mādhyamikavṛtti* (of Candrakīrti) v. p. 135.

Page 14. **dharmyā kathā** fit utterance, discourses in accordance with the Dharma. **saṁdarśay** to teach, instruct, *cf.* Pali: *saṁdasseti*. **aciraprakrānte** 'shortly after he has gone', an expression frequently found in Pali scriptures: *acirapakkante, aciraparinibbute*, etc. **ārocay** announce, relate, tell, address, *cf.* Pali: *āroceti,°rocita*. **upapanna** born. **mathurā-vāstavya** inhabitant of Mathurā. **jana-kāya** a multitude of people. **cheda** loss, *cf.* Pali.

Page 15. **upagupto...araṇyāyatanaṁ nītaḥ:** "*gauṇe karmaṇi duhyādeḥ pradhāne nīhṛkṛṣvahām*"—according to this rule, we have here *°pto...tanaṁ nītaḥ, cf. ajā grāmaṁ nītā*. **upasaṁpādita** ordained, *cf.* Pali: *upasampadā* ordination. **jñapticaturthakarma:** announcement, declaration, especially as three times a motion or resolution put at a *kammavācā* (proceedings of a meeting of the chapter). The usual formula is: *esā ñatti suṇātu me bhante saṅgho* 'this is the motion let the assembly of monks listen to me." This resolution is also called a *ñattikamma* (*Vinaya°*, ii. 89). Two kinds are distinguished, *viz.*, that at which the voting follows directly upon the motion, *i.e.*, *ñatti-dutiya-kamma* and that at which the motion is put three times and is then followed (as the fourth item) by the decision, *i.e.*, a *ñatti-catuttha-kamma*. Both kinds are discussed in *Vinaya°*, i. 56, 317 ff. **śāsana-hita** *dharma-hita*. **dharmaśravaṇa** hearing the preaching of Dharma, going to church. **adhyeṣaṇā** solicitation, asking for instruction. **adhiṣṭa** solicited, asked for instruction (as a teacher). **samāpadya** having entered upon, by attaining (trance). **vaineya, vineya** to be instructed, accessible to instruction, ready to receive the teaching (of Buddha), *cf.* Pali.

Page 17. **ahikuṇapaṁ mārasya śirasi baddhaṁ:** It is frequently found in the Pali scriptures: *ahikuṇapena vā kukkurakuṇapena vā manussakuṇapena vā kaṇṭhe āsattena*—.*A*. iv. 376-7, *M*. i. 119, etc. *uktveti mālāvyājena babandhāsya śavatrayam. mastake sarpakuṇapaṁ karṇe ca śvamanuṣyayoḥ. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, 72 *Avadāna, śloka*, 48. *kuṇapa* is both masculine and neuter.

Page 18. **yat te balaṁ bhavati:** Vasantatilaka is the metre. **brahmāṇaṁ vraja śaraṇaṁ:** Praharṣiṇī is the metre.

Page 19. **kāmaṁ mamāpi mahad asti:** This and the following *śloka* are in Vasantatilaka. **kartukāmo'bhaviṣyat kāṁ śiṣṭiṁ** an example of the use of *lṛṅ* (a technical term used by Pāṇini to denote the conditional mood or its terminations). **adyāvaimi muner°:** Śārdūla° is the metre.

Page 20. **śālāyāṁ brāhmaṇagrāme:** *Vide Māra-Saṁyuttaṁ, Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, i. pp. 103-116.

Page 21. **daśabala** *i.e.*, Buddha. 'one who has ten kinds of power': The knowledge of: (*i*) correct and faulty conclusion, (*ii*) the consequence of all actions, (*iii*) the diversity of elements or of the different worlds, (*iv*) the diversity of disposition, (*v*) the higher or lower powers of different creatures, (*vi*) the way that leads everywhere, (*vii*) the defilement, purification and origination of all the forms of musing, deliverance, contemplation and ecstatic attainment, (*viii*) all previous existences, (*ix*) births and deaths, (*x*) destroying sensuality, rebirth (lust for life), speculation and ignorance. **kiṁ sarṣapeṇa samatāṁ nayasīha:** Vasantatilaka is the metre. **brūhi brūhi śrīmatas tasya:** Śālinī is the metre.

Page 22. **nyāyenānena bhaktis tava:** Suvadanā is the metre. **sthāne mayā:** This is in Vasantatilaka and the following (p. 23) in Vaṁśastha.

Page 23. **viheṭhay** to oppress, to bring into difficulties, to vex, annoy, plague, hurt, *cf.* Pali *viheṭheti*. **tad anupamam anugrahaṁ:** This is Apara-

vaktra and the next after the following is Śārdūlavikrīḍita. *anudya* unutterable, *vide*, *Pāṇini*, iii-1-101 (commentary). Readings such as *anudyam* (suggested by Cowell) and *anadyam* found in the MSS. are to be rejected for the sake of metre. *tad anupamam anugrahaṁ prati* 'on account of incomparable kindness.'

Page 24. **āgam** to wait; *cf.* Pali *āgameti*. **śūraṁ vañcayituṁ purā :** Śārdūlavikrīḍita is the metre. Sūra Ambaṭṭha was born in a banker's family in Śrāvastī. One day when Buddha went to his door for alms, Sūra invited him in and entertained him with a meal. After the meal, when Buddha gave him thanks he became a *srotāpanna*. Sometime after when Buddha had left, Māra disguised as Buddha visited Sūra and in reply to Sūra's inquiry said that he had returned to contradict a wrong statement which he had made before. Sūra recognised Māra and drove him away. *A*. i. 26; iii. 451. *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, pp. 230-36. **tāthāgataṁ vapurathottama :** Vasantatilaka is the metre. **vyāma-prabhā** a halo extending for a fathom around Buddha. **asecanaka** unadulterated, unimpaired properties, sublime, lovely; *cf.* Pali: *M*. i. 114, *A*. iii. pp. 237 ff., *S*. i. 212, v. 321. *Milinda°*, 405. Sanskrit texts read both *aseca°*, and *āseca°*; *Vide Amarakoṣa, Viśeṣyanighnavarga: tad a(ā)secanakaṁ tṛpter nāsty anto yasya darśanāt.*

Page 25. **dhig astu tāṁ niṣkaruṇāṁ :** This is Vaṁśastha and the following is Śārdū°. **vyaktam upāgata** *pratyakṣam upāgata*. **vyāpin** pervading.

Page 26. **yat tat** refers to *karman*. The metre is Śārdūlavikrīḍita. **dāna-kṣānti-samādhi°niyama** may be taken as *dāna-pāramitā, kṣānti-pāra° dhyāna-pāra°, prajñā-pāra°, śīla-pāra°*. **yaṁ dṛṣṭvā ripur apy°** *yaṁ buddhaṁ dṛṣṭvā ity arthaḥ*. **jalavihata ivāgni :** *cf. dagdhendhanānalavat, Śāṅkara Vedānta*, i. 1. 11. Mālinī is the metre.

Page 27. **mṛnmayīṣu pratikṛti° :** Here is a parallel passage : *kṛttimeṣu api bimbeṣu vandyā bhagavatas tanuḥ. na sa mṛtkāṣṭhadhātūnāṁ praṇāmaḥ kriyate budhaiḥ. Bodhisattvāvadāna°; 72 Avadāna.* Verse 68. **svayambhū** master of himself, self-independent; an epithet of Bu° *cf.* Pali. **tribhava-pradīpa** a lamp in the three states of existence (*bhava*); i. sensual existence (*kāma°*), ii. *deva*-corporeal existence (*rūpa°*) and iii. formless existence (*arūpa°*). **śabda** voice. **yad bhūyasā** the greatest part, almost all, mostly; *cf.* Pali: *yebhuyyena*.

Page 28. **kathika** relating, speaking, conversing about, expounding; preacher, speaker, expounder, *cf.* Pali. *°siṁha*, the lion among the speakers. **mokṣa-bhāgīya** connected with, conductive to, procuring *mokṣa*; *cf.* Pali: *bhāgiya*. **kuśala-mūla** root of good: *alobha, adoṣa, amoha i.e.*, absence of greed, anger or ill-will and delusion are considered to be the root of all good actions. **ākṣipta** caused, produced. **sakṛd āgāmin** returning once, one who attained the second grade of saving wisdom. **yujyamāna** "being united (with the Truth)" "advancing through trances." **kṛta-karaṇīyāḥ** *arhattvaṁ prāptāḥ; cf. kṣīṇā me jātir uṣitaṁ brahmacaryaṁ, kṛtaṁ karaṇīyaṁ nāparam asmād bhavaṁ prajānāmi.* **kāmadhātu** world of desire. **buddha-kṣetra** field or region of (or for the existence of) Buddha. **kāryānurodhāt** with reference to a religious performance.

Page 29. **kalandaka-nivāpa** a place where oblations were made to the squirrels (name of a locality in *veṇuvana* near Rājagṛha). **nivāpa** food thrown (for feeding), fodder, bait, gift, portion, ration. **piṇḍa** alms. **kaṇakācala-sannibhāgradeho :** Vasantamālikā is the metre. **sābhisaṁskāra** with working of supernatural power. **dharmatā** 'conformity with *dharma-niyama*', a general rule; it is proper, one should expect; *cf.* Pali: *dhammatā*. **indrakīla** 'Indra's post', the post, stake or column of Indra at or before the city-gate; also a large slab or stone let into the ground at the entrance of a house; threshold. **haḍi** wooden fetters. **jīva-jīvaka** name of a bird, a sort of pheasant which utters a note sounding like *jīvan; cf.* Pali *jīvaṁjīvaka*. **peḍā** a large basket; *cf.* Pali (and Bengali). **ṣaḍ-vikāra** ind. in six uncommon ways.

Page 30. **vedhita, pravedhita** shaken, trembling (with regard to earth etc.), *cf.* Pali. **yāna-pātra** "vessel for going", a ship, a boat. The *śloka* is in the metre called Parimitavijayā. **prātihārya** miracle, psychic power. **nimnā connamate natāvanamate :** Śārdūlavikrīḍita is the metre. **saṁvā-**

dyanti *saṁ-vādya* used as *nāmadhātu* here: *vādya iva ācarati. samyag vādya iva ācarati; cf. sarvaprātipadikebhyaḥ kvib vā vaktavyaḥ.* **sūryaprabhām :** Vasanta-tilaka is the metre. **sakānanastham** = *sakānanasthalam.* **stha** for *sthala* (a dry land, opp. to damp low land).

Page 31. **kulika** belonging to a (high) family. *agra°* coming from a very good family. **dṛṣṭvā mahākāruṇikaṁ svayambhuvaṁ :** The first *pāda* is in Indravaṁśā, the rest is in Indravajrā. **praṇidhāna, praṇidhi** aspiration, prayer, longing, request, resolve; *cf.* Pali. **kārā** *pūjā.* **kṣetra** the soil of merit, the deposit of good deeds which like a fertile field bears fruit to the advantage of the 'giver' of gifts or the "doer" of good works.

Page 32. **rājya-vaipākya-kuśalam ākṣiptaṁ** a merit is produced which is to result in (the achievement of) kingdom. **dharmatā khalu yasmin samaye buddhā bhagavantaḥ smitaṁ vidarśayanti :** This passage including the *ślokas* ending in *dhīrābhir munivṛṣa vāgbhir utpannaṁ vyapanaya saṁśayaṁ śubhābhiḥ,* is found in various chapters of the *Avadānaśataka, vide Avadānas,* 1-10, 17, 20, 22, 23; the *śloka : ārabhadhvaṁ niṣkrāmata* is found also in the 88th *Ava°.* **arcis** is found in all the three genders in Sanskrit literature. **sañjīva... avīci** names of different grades of hell. **kāraṇa** a deed, action, esp. an act imposed or inflicted upon somebody as an ordeal, a feat or punishment; *cf.* Pali. **prati-pra-srabh** to subside, to be eased, calmed, to pass away; *cf* Pali *paṭippassaddhi.* **nirmita** created (by supernatural power; by *ṛddhi*). **pratisandhi** reunion (of vital principles with a body), re-incarnation, metempsychosis. **caturmahārājikā : cātummahārājikā** four kings inhabiting the lowest of the six *deva-lokas.* Their names are: Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśravaṇa. **yāmā** *yāmā devā,* those who belong to Yama, the ruler of the under-world, subjects of Yama. **tusitā** etc. names of different classes of gods; *Vide Dīgha-Nikāya,* ii, 253, iii. 194. **tuṣitāḥ,°sitā** the inhabitants of *tuṣita,* the fourth of the six *devalokas.* It is said that the Bodhisattvas are to be born in *tuṣita* in their penultimate birth. **nirmāṇarati : nimmānaratī** *devas* inhabiting the fifth of the six *deva-lokas.* They are named thus as they delight in their own creation. They can create any form in any colour. **paranimmita-vasavattī(°ttin)** a class of *devas* who live in the highest stage of the sensuous universe (*kāmaloka*). They are named thus as their power is under control (of the creation) of others. The commentary says that the other gods who know their weakness create the objects of their desire, like a cook who knows what dishes are favourite to the king and prepares the same. **brahma-kāyikā** inhabitants of the *brahma-loka,* the highest of the celestial worlds. It consists of 20 heavens, 16 being the worlds of forms and four being the worlds of incorporeal gods. It is to be noted that the *devas* of the *brahma°* are free from sensual desires (*kāma*). **brahma-purohitā** ministers or priests of *mahā-brahmā.* Inhabitants of *brahma°.* **mahā-brahmā** Tudu, Nārada, Ghaṭikāra, Baka, Sanaṅ-kumāra and Sahampati are described as *mahā-brahmā.* **parittābhā, appamāṇābhā** a class of gods who are included among the *ābhā* gods (a generic name for *devas* distinguished for their brilliance) who belong to the plane of the second *dhyāna.* **ābhassarā** inhabitants of the *brahma-loka* whose persons emit lustre like the lightening. They belong to the *rūpa-loka,* in the plane of the second *dhyāna.* **paritta-subhā** a class of gods belonging to the *subhās i.e.,* a group of *brahmās* which includes *paritta°, appamāṇa°* and *subha-kiṇṇā.* **appamāṇa-subhā** a class of *brahmās* of the *rūpa-loka.* **subha-kiṇṇā,°kiṇhā** a class of *brahmās* who inhabit the ninth *rūpa-loka.* **avihā, atappā, sudassā, sudassī** and **akaniṭṭhā** belong to the *suddhāvāsa* which is the name for this group of *brahma-lokas.* The five highest *rūpa-lokas* and their inhabitants are called by these names. There the *anāgāmins* are born and attain to Arhathood. It is to be noted that the Bodhisattvas are never born in these five worlds. **mṛtyunaḥ** *cf.* Pali *maccuno.* The Pali form is Sanskritized.

Page 33. **aṇvāhiṇḍ** *cf.* Pali: *anvāhiṇḍati,* to wander to (accus). **antar-dhīyante** is used here in active voice; *cf.* Pali *°dhāyanti.* Is it Pali influence ? Was the form originally *antar-dhāyante* ? **balacakravartin** "one with the wheel of power of sovereignty", a powerful king. **ūrṇā** a circle of hair between the eye-brows. **hetupratyaya** Pali

°paccaya, the moral causal relation. **uddhava** joy, pleasure; *cf.* Pali: *uddhacca* over-balancing, agitation, excitement, distraction. In this sense the word *uddhava* is used here. **smitaṁ vidarśayanti :** The verb *vi-darśay* offends the metre. For the sake of metre, it may be read *vidarśenti*. Most probably the form was originally *vidarśenti* (*cf.* Pali *dasseti* and Buddhist Sanskrit: *kalpenti, deśenti, varṇenti, nāśenti, samprakāśeti, samāropenti* etc. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, p. 321, verse 444; p. 343, verse 629; p. 361, v. 779; p. 331, v. 532; p. 334, v. 558; p. 156 etc.) and later on, it was corrected. The last *pāda* is in accordance with the Vaṁśastha metre. **tat kālaṁ svayam adhigamya :** The metre is Praharṣiṇī. **govṛṣa** a bull; *kīnāśo govṛṣo yānam alaṁkāraś ca veśma ca. Manu°*, ix. 150.

Page 34. **caturbhāga-cakravartin** ruling over one of the four continents of the world. **śarīra-dhātu** relics. **dharmarājikā** relating to Dharmarāja (Buddha) *i.e. stūpa*, a monument on his relics. **astaṁgate mayi bhavi° :** The metre is Vasanta°. **jambuṣaṇḍa** rose-apple grove=Jambudvīpa, *cf.* Pali. **deyadharma** "the duty of giving", charity. **caṅkrama** the place where one walks, especially a terraced walk, cloister, *cf.* Pali: *caṅkama*. **sagomayena** *sugomayena*? *gomayena saha*. **gomayakārṣī** a piece of (dried) cow-dung, cow-dung-cake. **caṅkrama**(ti) *yaṅ-luganto'yaṁ prayogaḥ*.

Page 35. **grahāya** *gṛhītvā*, *cf.* Pali. *gahāya*. **cakṣuḥsaṁpreṣaṇa** *cakṣuḥsaṁsparśana* ? *cf.* Pali *°samphassa*, contact with the sense of vision.

Page 36. **śikṣāpita = śikṣita** Pali influence *cf.* Pali *sikkhāpeti*. **nāpinī** *cf.* Pali *nahāmin* (*°pin* ?). **paricāray** to amuse oneself, to gratify one's senses, *cf.* Pali *paricāreti*. **jātimaha** *janmotsava* a festival on account of a child's birth. **duḥsparśa-gātra** one with a rough body which is unpleasant to the touch; *cf.* Pali *dupphassa:* of bad touch, bad to the touch, *i.e.* rough, unpleasant. **Piṅgalavatsājīva :** He seems to belong to the Ājīvika sect. Some scholars relying on these stories think that Aśoka had great favour for the Ājīvika sect because of the Prediction of Piṅgalavatsa. And therefore, he (and his queen-mother) gave special gifts of Caves to the Ājīvikas (*Vide* Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions). **parīkṣāmaḥ, pari-ikṣ** *parīkṣ* (except *nijanta*) is always used in *ātmanepada;* but some forms of *parasmaipada*, such as *parīkṣat* (present participle) *paryaikṣat* are found in epics and older literature.

Page 37. **mahallaka** old, venerable, *cf.* Pali. **hastināga** a strong stately elephant (as a symbol of strength and endurance) *cf.* Pali *hatthināga*. **prastṛ** to stretch, to spread; *cf.* Pali: *°pāda* with spreading feet. **abhedena** without disclosing, by hints.

Page 40. **Khaśa :** Khaśas are described in one place of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* (lvii, 56) as *'parvatāśrayāḥ'* 'dwelling along the mountains' and in another place as located in the middle of the tortoise along with the Śālvas, Nipas, Śakas, Śūra-senas etc. (lviii, 6). The *Mahābhārata* brands them as a rude half-civilized tribe along with the Śakas, Daradas, etc. (*Sabhā°*, li, 1859) while *Harivaṁśa* says that the people were once defeated and degraded by king Sagara (xiv, 784) and were hence regarded as Mlecchas (xcv, 6440-1). Manu also says that they were originally Kṣatriyas but were later on degraded by the lapse of sacred rites and the absence of Brāhmaṇas in their midst (x, 43-4). The *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahā°* places the people near the river Śailoda between the Meru and Mandāra mountains (li, 1858-9). If the river Śailoda is same as Śailodaka of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (cxx, 19-23), then the Khaśas seem to have originally settled somewhere in Tibet or further Northwest. Much later, in historical times, the Khaśas are mentioned with some other tribes in the inscriptions of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal in such a way as to suggest that Khaśas (Khāśis of Assam ?) enlisted themselves as mercenary troops in the army of the kings of those dynasties. *Cf.* B.C. Law: *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 400. **mahānagna** an athlete. **khalvāṭaka** bald-headed. **khaṭaka** a slap.

Page 41. **ruṣitam abhyāgata** became angry.

Page 42. **anayena vyasanam āpa°** by misfortune he perished; *cf.* Pali *anaya* (misfor°) usually combined with *vyasana* (destruction). **pratikūlita** (last line) obstructed; *prati+kūl*, to obstruct.

Page 43. **anunaya** friendliness, Pali. **kiṭika** a screen. **śodhay=sādhay :** Pali influence. In Pali *sādheti* is mixed up with *sodheti*.

Page 44. **pari-bhāṣ** to abuse, scold, censure, defame; *cf.* Pali.

Page 45. **kārāpita** = **kārita** *cf.* Pali *kārāpeti, kārāpita.* **ramaṇīyaka bandhana** a beautiful building or prison. **bāla-paṇḍita-sūtra**: Both in the *bāla-paṇḍita-sutta* and the *deva-dūta-sutta* there are similar descriptions of torture of sinners in hell. *Vide M.* vol. iii. pp. 163-87 ; *A.* vol. i. pp. 138-42. Chl reads only the following for the whole passage: "Those who like the potful broth will be pounded with a rammer. Those who like what are heaped up in the mortar will be cooked in the saucepan. Those who are in hell (have to) swallow big balls of iron; boiled copper is poured into their mouths." **viṣkambhaṇa**=**viṣkambha** a prop, support. **vi-ṣkambh** to prop, support, fix. **ayoguḍa** iron ball; *cf.* Pali. **ādīpta** set on fire, blazing, burning; *cf.* Pali *āditta*=*paditta, jalita.* **antraguṇa** the intestinal tract, *cf.* Pali.**pra-ghar** *cf.* Pali *paggharati*, pa+*gharati* which stands for *kṣarati* to ooze, flow out or forth.

Page 46. **ā-sphāṭay** : **ā**+**sphaṭ**+*ṇic* to split open, to tear; to expand, to make to gape. **pañcavidhabandhanakāraṇā** the fivefold ordeal in hell. It consists of the piercing of a red-hot iron stake through both hands, both feet and the chest. It is a sort of crucifixion. T.W. Rhys Davids says: "We may conjecture that this "*bandhana*" is a corruption of *vaddhana* (of **vyadh** or *viddhana* ?) and the expression originally was: *pañcaviddhanakāraṇā.*" **kāraṇa** or **kāraṇā** a deed, action, performance. Especially an act imposed or inflicted by a higher authority (by the king or *karman*) as an ordeal, a feat or punishment. **krām** (**anti**) used here in the causative sense, to cause to go through, penetrate. **janapada-cārikā** tramping the country; *cf.* Pali.

Page 47. **pūrvāhṇe nivāsya pātracīvaram ādāya** *cf.* Pali: *pubbantasamayaṁ nivāsetvā pattacīvaram ādāya.* **pratibhaya** exciting fear, formidable, terrible, dangerous. **vistareṇa kāryam** in detail, in extenso (it is to be done). **rudasi** *cf.* Vedic forms. Pali both *rudati* & *rodati.* **sukhodaya** having a happy result; *cf.* Pali *sukha udraya* (*udaya*). **krama** reprieve, suspense, or delay in execution. **vyāyata-mati** one with a struggling mind; *vi-ā-yam* to struggle.

Page 48. **saṁvigna** agitated, moved by fear or awe, excited, stirred; *cf.* Pali *saṁvigga.* **ālambana** *cf.* Pali *ārammaṇa* a basis for the working of the mind and intellect, *i.e.*, sense-object, object of thought or consciousness, object of meditation. **yujyat** being engaged in (loc.), exerting oneself, endeavouring. **saṁyojana** bond, fetters; especially the fetters that bind man to the wheel of transmigration (*saṁsāra*). **kāraṇā-kāla** time for ordeal or punishment, time for killing.

Page 49. **pañcāvaraṇa** five obstacles or hindrances. Pali °*nīvaraṇa*: (*i*) *kāmacchanda*, sensuality, (*ii*) (*abhijjhā-*) *vyāpāda*, ill-will, (*iii*) *thīna-middha*, torpor of mind, or body, (*iv*) *uddhacca-kukkucca*, worry, (*v*) *vicikicchā*, wavering. **vaineya-kāla** proper time for receiving instructions.

Page 50. **prasravaṇaḥ iva**: After elision of the *visarga* again the *sandhi* (which is prohibited) is made. Cases of such prohibited *sandhi* are often found in the *Avadānas.* **ud-bhāvay** to speak of, explain, mention. **āsrava** Pali *āsava* that which flows (out or into), outflow & influx. The four *āsavas* are: (*i*) *kāma*, sensuality, (*ii*) *bhava*, rebirth (lust for life), (*iii*) *diṭṭhi*, speculation, (*iv*) *avijjā*, ignorance. These intoxicate the mind so that it cannot rise to higher things. Freedom from *āsravas* constitutes Arhathood.

Page 51. **kāruṇya-purojava** : *purojava*, an attendant, *cf.* Div. pp. 211, 214, 379. *kāruṇya-purojava lit.* 'attendant of mercy', waiting upon mercy; miserable. **dharmadhara** one who knows the Dharma by heart, a missionary (?). But the word is not used in this sense here. *dharma-dhara*=relics-holder *i.e.* the *stūpa. Vide* the following utterances of the king. *Vide* also *Kunālāvadāna*, p. 79: *vaistārikā dhātudharāḥ kṛtāś ca.* **daśabalasuta kṣantu**° : The letter *kṣa* should be read as *kha*, as in Pali. This is Pali influence. The writer appears to be more well-versed in Pali. The metre is Puṣpitāgrā. **pravaṇa** generous (Lexicographers). **haṁsāṁśuśaṅkhendubalākakalpa** as white (*lit.* swan-rayed, swan-coloured) as the conch-shell, moon and crane. **mā tāvat**=**maivam** (not so).

Page 52. **yantragṛha** a torcher-chamber. **droṇa-stūpa** name of a *stūpa* said to contain a *droṇa* holding relics of Buddha. **bhaktim ato yāvat sapta-**

droṇād a part from this and so up to the seventh droṇa-*stūpa*. **Rāmagrāma :** A Kolian (a republican clan) village on the bank of the Ganges. Its inhabitants obtained a share of the relics of Buddha over which they erected *stūpa*. Later on, floods destroyed the *stūpa* and the urn containing the relics was carried away into the sea. Mahākāla, the king of *nāgas* received the urn and took it to the abode of *nāgas*. There the relics were preserved with great respect. **rāmagrāme'sti tv aṣṭamaṁ :** Vaiśvadevī is the metre.

Page 53. **karaṇḍa** a basket or covered box of bamboo.

Page 54. **śodhayitavya** (a sum of thirty-five crores is) to be recovered or collected; *cf.* Pali *sodheti* & *sādheti*. This sense is supported by Ch2. Or, it may mean (35 crores of *karaṇḍas* are) to be removed or cleaned away. **pāṇinā sūryamaṇḍalaṁ prati° :** *Avadānakalpa°* reads: *ekakṣaṇapratiṣṭhāsu pṛthivyāṁ sthaviras tadā. kham utpaty ārkam ācchādya chāyāsaṁjñām akalpayat.* 69th *Avadāna*, verse 8. Compare the act of Concealing the Sun by Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Kurukṣetra War; *Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parvan.*

Page 55. **tābhyaḥ saptabhyaḥ pūrvikābhyaḥ :** This and the following *śloka* are in the Vaiśvadevī metre.

VĪTAŚOKĀVADĀNA

Page 56. **śaikṣa** *cf.* Pali *sekha*, belonging to training, one who has still to learn, a student. **pṛthagjanakālyāṇaka** an ordinary man striving after his spiritual good; *cf.* Pali. **yadbhūyasā** see p. 27. **tīrthya, tīrthika** an adherent of another sect, a heretic; *cf.* Pali: *titthiya, tittha.* **vigrāhita** taken hold of, prejudiced against, seduced by: *cf.* Pali: *viggahita.* **anāyatana** that which is not resting place or an alter. **hīnāyatana** inferior abode, inferior sanctuary. **pañcātapa, pañcatapa** (°**tapas**) the five fires (to which the ascetic exposes himself): one fire towards each of the four quarters and the sun overhead; *cf. grīṣme pañcatapās tu syād varṣāsv abhrāvakāśikaḥ. ārdravāsās tu hemante kramaśo vardhayaṁs tapaḥ. Manu°*, vi. 23. **kaṣṭatapaḥsārasaṁjñin** one perceiving the value of severe austerities.

Page 57. **kaṣṭe'smin vijane vane :** Śārdūla° is the metre. **kārā** worship, homage.

Page 59. **ārocay** to relate, tell, announce. **na me dṛṣṭaṁ nṛtyaṁ :** This and the following *śloka* are in Śikhariṇī.

Page 60. **upapatti** birth, rebirth. **āyatana** sphere of perception, or, senses in general, object of thought, sense-organ. **upapattyāyatana** sphere of perception in rebirth. **paryeṣṭi** Pali *pariyeṭṭhi* search for. **samudācāra** behaviour, practice, habit, familiarity. **skandha** constituent element, factor, substantiality; pl. the elements or substrata of sensory existence, sensorial aggregates which condition the appearance of life in any form. **traidhātuka** the (world of the) threefold composition of elements; *triloka.*

Page 61. **bhava** "becoming" (form of) rebirth, (state of) existence, a "life". **ṣaḍabhijña** endowed with the six apperceptions. The following are the six (*i*) *ṛddhi* (levitation), (*ii*) *divyaśrotra* (the heavely ear=clair audience) (*iii*) *paracittajñāna* (knowledge of others' thoughts or thought-reading), (*iv*) *jātismarajñāna* (recollection of one's previous births), (*v*) knowledge of other people's rebirth, (*vi*) certainty of emancipation already attained. **upacita-hetuka** one whose moral conditions are accumulated or produced. **carama-bhavika** one who has this birth as the last one, *i.e.* who is not going to be born again; *cf.* Pali *carima-bhava* "the last rebirth". **āśraya** the body. **pravrajyāyā varṇa** the syllables or words (passage) which deals with renunciation.

Page 62. **svākhyāta-dharma-vinaya** well-preached (*svākhyāta*) "teaching of Buddha in its completeness". **upasampad** higher ordination, admission to the privileges of recognised Bhikṣus. **udbhrānto'smi niraṅkuśo :** Śārdūla° is the metre. **vaivarṇika** having no caste, outcaste. °*abhyupāgata*, accepted by the outcastes. **pāṁśu-kūla** dust-heap, collection of rugs from dust-heap; *cf.* Pali *paṁsukūlika* "one who wears clothes made of rags taken from a dustheap." **vyābādha** disease, illness. **pūti-mukta** 'strong-smelling urine', usually urine of cattle used as medicine by the monks.

Page 63. **naivāhaṁ tan na jāne :** Suvadanā is the metre. **na viṣaya-tṛṣita** not for the thirst of enjoyments (in heaven). **pūtika-māṣa** rotten or stinking beans (*māṣa* in later times came to mean a kind of pulse having seeds marked with black and grey spots).

Page 64. **ākīrṇa** crowded. **videha :** Ch **videśa :** This is the correct reading.

Page 65. **lūha-praṇīta** plentiful of wretched (alms). *lūha*(*rūkṣa*), poor, bad, wretched, coarse; Pali: *lūkha*. **kṛtakaraṇīya** "He has done what was ought to be done", *i.e.*, he has become an Arhat; *vide kṣīṇā me jātiḥ . . . kṛtaṁ karaṇiyaṁ*. **tasya hy aniyataṁ kathaṁ**=*tasya arhattvam aniyataṁ kathaṁ*. It refers to the preceding sentence: *niyatam ayaṁ kṛtakaraṇiyo* (=Arhat) *bhaviṣyati* (=*bhavet*). **nirāsrava** detached from the outflow and influx of (*i*) sensuality, (*ii*) rebirth, (*iii*) speculation and (*iv*) ignorance. **apahāya mauryavaṁśam :** *mauryavaṁśaṁ magadhapuraṁ sarvaratnanicayaṁ cāpahāya* [*gataṁ*] *prahīṇamadamānasārambhaṁ* (anger, Pali) *vaṁśanivahaṁ* [*vaṁśadharaṁ*] *dṛṣṭvā puram aty uddhṛtam iva yaśasā pūtam iva mahaṁ* (great) *ca manye. udāreṇa tvayā daśabaladharaśāsanaṁ pratipadyatām*. **prajñapta** 'appointed' 'ordained', °*āsana*, appointed or ordained chair (or seat). **praṇīta** 'excellent' (*āhāra*), heaped up, plentiful, abundant; *cf.* Pali : *paṇīta*.

Page 66. **dharmyayā kathayā saṁdarśayan** instructing with speeches that are in accordance with the Dharma. **saṁdṛṣṭika** visible, belonging to this life. Pali *sandiṭṭhika*. **janakāya** a body or group of people.

Page 67. **ṛddhyā khalv avabhartsitā :** Śārdūla° is the metre. **śirasita**= *śiraḥsita*, 'one with a white head (grey hair)'. **upasthāyaka** a nurse, attendant. **khusta** bald; origin untraced. **Nirgrantha** 'free from all ties or hindrances', 'without possession', Jina, a Jain. **upāsaka** a lay devotee.

Page 68. **Ājīvika** or **Ājīvaka :** The doctrine of the Ājīvikas are older than Jainism or Buddhism. It began to develop in the 7th or 8th century B.C., somewhere near the Gangetic valley. Makkhaliputta (*Maskariputra*) Gosā(śā)la elevated this doctrine into a philosophy of life. He was the central figure, the last Tīrthaṁkara of the Ājīvikas, as Mahāvīra to the Jains. They two practised austerities together for some time. It is said that Gosāla attained to Jinahood first and he had great influence in the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine. Gosāla introduced the philosophy of natural transformation (*Pariṇāmavāda*) which he formulated from the generalization of the periodical reanimations of plant life. The basic idea of this philosophy implies a process of natural and spiritual evolution through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths (*saṁsāraśuddhi*). This philosophy of *saṁsāraśuddhi* inspires us with a great message of hope that even the puniest thing of the creation, that even a dew-drop is destined to attain, in course of natural evolution, the highest state of perfection in humanity. The Ājīvika sect consisted of monks and householders, both male and female. It spread all over India and existed among rival sects till the 14th century A.D. Some inscriptions (Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol, i, pp. 88, 89, 92, 108) dated the 13th century A.D. are found in Madras which record that a kind of poll-tax was imposed on the Ājīvikas and that probably checked the further progress of this religious sect. The Ājīvikas finally lost their identity and merged into the Digambara Jain, the Śivaite and others. *Cf.* B. Barua, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. ii. **pūrvāntajñāna** the knowledge of the past (life). **kṣipta** produced.

Page 69. **Pratyeka-Buddha :** One who has attained to the Supreme wisdom and perfect insight, but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world (a silent Buddha).

Page 70. **yavāgūpāna** a drink of rice-milk, *cf.* Pali: *yāgupāna*. **nimantraṇaka**=*nimantraṇa*, invitation. **praṇidhāna** aspiration, longing, prayer, resolve.

KUNĀLĀVADĀNA

Page 71. **yaśo'mātyopākhyānaṁ :** Name of this chapter is given by us. In Chinese translations this story does not form a part of *Kunāla*°. This is found in Chl in an *Avadāna* named as: "The recompense given by king Aśoka." **Śākyaputrīya** or **Śākyaputra** a follower of Buddha, a Buddhist.

Page 72. **vicchanday(ituṁ)** to interrupt, to prevent; *cf.* Pali *vicchindati.*

Page 73. **yadi guṇapari°:** This is Puṣpitāgrā and the next two are Śārdūla°. **ikṣu-kṣoda** 'the refuse of sugarcane', the crushed or squeezed sugarcane which is thrown away after taking the juice from it; *cf. kṣoda* pounded substance, ground or pulverized substance. **ikṣu-kṣodavad :** Śārdūla° is the metre.

Page 74. **bhavanād iva pradīptān nimajjamānād iva:** "Those who do not take essential substance from this body which is destined to be destroyed are like those who do not take treasure from a house ablaze, or from a store (or receptacle) of treasure that is sinking into water." **dadhighṛtanavanīta° :** This and the following are Mālinī. **maṇḍakumbha** a jar of cream, a pitcher full of cream. **kartuṁ vighnam ato na :** This and the following are in Śārdūla°. **daśabalavyāhāradīpa** the speeches or utterances of Buddha which act like a lamp. **daśabala :** *Vide Pāṁśupradāna°*, p. 21. **rājāśokopākhyānaṁ :** The chapter is named by us in accordance with the Ch.

Page 75. **buddhakārya** duties of a Buddha. Chinese translates it as "conversion".

Page 76. **jitakleśa** *kleśa=rāga, doṣa, moha,* sensuality, lust and bewilderment, or lust, anger or ill-will and delusion. Pali *kilesa,* stain, soil, impurity (fig. affliction) depravity, lust. **saṁnāhyatāṁ hastirathāśvakāyaḥ :** The last *pāda* of this *śloka* is defective (*sākṣād arhantam upagupta°*).

Page 77. **saṅkrama** a passage, a bridge. *nau-saṅkrama* a bridge or dam of boats.

Page 78. **yebhiḥ** Pali and Vedic influence; *cf. RV.* 8.49.8, 10.54.4, 10.92.5; *KS.* 37.9; *TB.* 2.7.15.2; *AV.* 10.8.35; *JUB.* 1.34.6; *JB.*2.51 (52). etc. etc.

Page 79. **naṣṭe jaganmohanamīlitākṣe :** *jaganmohana=candra:* "when he who charms the world has closed his eyes and disappeared." **tvaṁ śāstṛ-kalpo jagadekacakṣur avavādakānāṁ :** The second *pāda* of this *śloka* is defective; the Pali form of *avavā°* is *ovādaka.* Was it originally *ovādakānāṁ ?* **parītta** transmitted; **paritta** transmitted; *cf.* Pali : **paritta** (*pari-dā-ta*) adj. transmitted; **°tta, °ttā** (fr. *pari-trā*) n. protection, safeguard (protective) charm, palliative, amulet. **dhātudhara** that which contains relics; a casket (of bamboo) containing relics.

Page 80. **mṛdu sumṛdu :** The body of one who practises *dhyāna* is soft to the touch. **tūla-piśu** cotton-wool. **kāśika** coming from Kāśī *i.e.* Benaras muslin or silk. **pudgala** an individual, person, man. **a-prati-pudgala** without a rival. *cf. appaṭi-puggala,* Pali.

Page 81. **cittotpāda** rising of a thought, *i.e.* intention, desire.

Page 82. **naivāsikā yā ihāśoka° :** The *śloka* offends the metre in every *pāda* except in the third. To put the metre in order the *śloka* may be read thus: *naivāsikā yā'smin aśokavṛkṣe* (or *yaitad aśo°*) *sambuddhasaṁdarśakadeva°. rājño hy aśokasya manaḥ prasādya.*

Page 83. **jātyāṁ** in the birth place (of Buddha). **asecanaka-darśana** sublime, lovely to look at. **naimitta, °mittaka, °mittika** an interpreter of prognostics, fortune-teller. **vipaści, °cika, °cit, vipañcika** or **°cita :** One of unillusioned understanding, clear-minded, unprejudiced; *cf.* Pali *vipañcita.*

Page 84. **śikṣāpita=śikṣita** *cf.* Pali *sikkhāpeti* to teach, to train. **ṣaṣṭibhiḥ strīsahasraiḥ sārdhaṁ :** The Buddhist attempts to show that Buddha surpassed Śrīkṛṣṇa in every respect, even in possession of wives; Śrīkṛṣṇa had only sixteen thousand (or a few more) wives. In the previous chapter it is shown that an ordinary (disciple's) disciple of Buddha could perform the miraculous deed of concealing the sun which Śrīkṛṣṇa had performed. **prathama-dhyāna :** There are nine successive stages of meditation (*nava-anupubbavihāra*) which culminate in trance. Of these nine, the first four are the stages that are attained in the realm of form, with the help of 'form' or 'matter' as the object of meditation. The next four are those which are attained in the realm of formless, with the help of the 'formless' or 'non-matter' as the object of meditation. The ninth is the last stage where not only sensations or consciousness but also all the mental properties or "mentals" (*caitasika dharma*) are suppressed with the mind itself. In this stage of trance, there is but a slight

difference between the person who is in trance and a dead man.[1]. The **first** four stages are named the first trance (*prathama dhyāna*), the second trance (*dvitīya dhyāna*), the third trance (*tṛtiya dhyāna*), and the fourth trance (*caturtha dhyāna*). In the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (vol. iii. p. 78) and *Aṅguttara*° (iv., p. 410), the first trance or *prathama dhyāna* is thus described: It is free from demerit (*viviktaṁ pāpakair akuśalair*) free from the attachment of the five senses (*anāsravaṁ*). It is accompanied by thoughts and reflections (*savitarkaṁ savicāraṁ*) and by bliss produced from right judgement (*vivekaja-prītisukhaṁ*). **prācīna-nimnā** inclined towards East. °**pravaṇā** sloping Eastward. °**prāgbhārā** bending and inclining Eastward. These three compounds express the same sense. **chandakaḥ+ ābharaṇāni . . . praviṣṭaḥ+ekaḥ :** As it is frequently found, the prohibited *sandhi* is made in both these cases. **nirupasthāyaka** without any attendant.

Page 85. **grahāya** *gṛhītvā; cf.* Pali *gahāya.* **Ārāḍa** or **Ārāḍa Kālāma :** One of the two famous spiritual teachers of Gautama or Siddhārtha from whom the latter learned the seven of the nine stages of trance (*dhyāna*). **Udraka Rāmaputra :** The other teacher who taught Gautama how to attain to the eighth stage of the *dhyāna. Vide Majjhima*°, vol. i. pp. 163-66, 240; vol. ii. pp. 93, 212. *Dīgha*°, ii. p. 130. *Aṅguttara*°, ii. p. 180. *Vinaya*° (Oldenberg) i. 7. *Lalitavistara,* (Lefmann) pp. 238, 243-45 (ch. xvii). *Buddhacarita,* xii. 1-88. *Jātaka* (Fausböll) i. pp. 66, 81. *Mahāvastu* (Senart) ii. 118-20. **tāpita** roused, converted. **nāyaṁ mārgo hy abhijñāyā :** This line may be read thus: °*hy abhijñāta iti jñātvā samatyajat.* **Nandā, Nandabalā :** *Vide Buddhacarita,* xii. 109. **ṣoḍaśa-guṇita** sixteen times. **Kālika Nāgarāja**=Mahākāla Nāgarāja: His palace was under the river Nirañjanā. When Buddha attained to Enlightenment, the Nāgarāja with his Nāga maidens went to Buddha and sang in praise of the Enlightened One. *Jātaka,* i. 70, 72. *Mahāvastu,* ii. 265, 302, 304; comp. the episode of *Kālīyadamana* by Kṛṣṇa.

Page 86. **bodhi-maṇḍa** (for °**maṇḍala**) the ground under the Bodhi-tree, hence the spot where Buddha was seated at the time of attaining Bodhi. **dṛṣṭas tvayā jvalita**° **:** This *śloka* is in Vasantatilaka and the following is in Puṣpitāgrā.

Page 87. **iha munivṛṣabheṇa :** Puṣpitāgrā is the metre. **namuci-bala** *māra-bala,* the army of Māra. **Trapuṣa-Bhallika :** Pali Tapussa, Tapassu, Bhalluka, Bhallika, Bhalliya: Tapassu. A merchant of Ukkala. He and his friend Bhalluka, while on their way to Rājagṛha, saw Buddha at the foot of the Rājāyatana tree, in the eighth week after the Enlightenment. Urged by a diety who had been their relation, they offered Buddha rice-cakes and honey in a bowl provided by the Four Regent gods (*catur mahārāja*). They became the first lay disciples of Buddha and their 'formula of Refuge' contains no reference to the Saṅgha (*Vin.* i. 3f: *A.* i. 26; *J.* i. 80; *Mv.* iii. 303).

According to the *Thera-gāthā* commentary (i. 48f.) Tapassu and Bhalluka were brothers; they were sons of a caravan leader of Pokkharavatī. Sometime later they visited Buddha at Rājagṛha where he preached to them. Tapassu thereupon became a *srotāpanna,* while Bhalluka entered the Order and became an Arhat.

Upagaṇa Ājīvika : Pali Upaka Ājīvaka: An Ājīvika whom Buddha met on his way between Gaya and the Bodhi-tree, when he set out for Isipatana to preach the first Sermon. Upaka questioned Buddha on his attainments and when Buddha told him what he had accomplished he asked Buddha if he were 'Anantajina'. When Buddha acknowledged it, Upaka shook his head saying, "It may be so friend" and went along by another road (*J.* i. 81; *Vin.* i. 8; *M.* i. 170-1. The reading should be : **Upaga Ājīvi**°).

Afterwards, being constantly mocked and teased by his wife, Upaka left home and went to Buddha who was then at Śrāvastī. Upaka was admitted to the order. As the result of his meditation he became an *Anāgāmin* and was

[1] The only difference between death and this state is that in the latter the heat of the body is not lost, the life does not cease to be and the sense-organs are not destroyed, while in the former, all these are destroyed; *cf. Visuddhimagga* (P.T.S.) p. 558.

reborn in the Avihā heaven (*ThigA*. 220ff; *MA*. i. 388f. Upaka's story is given in *SnA*. i. 258ff., with variations). **triparivarta** turning thrice.

Page 88. **lokaṁ sadevamanujāsura°:** Vasantatilaka is the metre. **dharma-vinaya** the teaching of Buddha in its completeness.

Page 89. **sthāpay(itvā)=varjay(itvā)** *cf*. Pali *ṭhapetvā* leaving out, setting aside, excepting. **devendrasya vaijayanta prāsāda:** *Vide* (*Cūlataṇhāsaṅkhaya Sutta*, *M*.i.251ff.). **Nandopananda Nāgarāja:** In the *Jātakas* (v. 126) and in the commentary of the *Theragāthā* (ii. 188f.) Nando° is not two but only one Nāgarāja who was subdued by Mahāmoggallāna. The story runs thus: One day Buddha accompanied by 500 monks travelled over the Nāga king's abode while he was having his meal. The Nāga, in anger coiled round one of the disciples (*viz*. Sineru) and covered the road to the Tāvatiṁsa heaven where the party was to go. It is said, among the five hundred monks only Mahā° had the power to defeat the Nāga which he did with the permission of Buddha. The Nāga, after his defeat, was converted.

Page 90. **dhūtaguṇavādin:** The word is rare. In one constantly repeated passage, it is used as an adjective opposed to lazy, remiss (*kosajja*) and means either scrupulous or punctilious. *dhūta-dhamma* means a scrupulous way of life. *dhūtaguṇa* may mean the same. Thus *dhūtaguṇavādin* means 'he who preaches the scrupulous way of life'. **śvetacīvareṇācchāditaḥ:** Once Mahākāśy° spread his outer robe for Buddha to sit. As Bu° praised its softness, Mahā° requested him to accept it; when Bu° asked him, what he would put on, Māhā° begged one worn out robe of Bu°' the colour of which was faded (looked white). **araṇa** "without fighting"; Pali: peaceful, living in solitude. **Batkula:** Pali Bakkula, Bākula, Vakkula *Thera*. He was born in a councillor's family at Kauśāmbī. After enjoying a rich and prosperous life, at the age of 80, he heard Buddha's speech and left the world. It is said only for seven days he remained unenlightened and on the dawn of the eighth day he became an Arhat. Later on, Buddha declared him as the foremost one of those who are in good health.

Page 91. **alpa-bādha: bādhā** *nīvaraṇa*, (i) excitement of sensual pleasure, (ii) greed and ill-will (iii) the inactivity of body and mind, (iv) flurry or worry, (v) doubts. **kākaṇi,°ṇī, kākani,°nī** a small coin, may be guessed at as being $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *kārṣāpaṇa; cf*. Pali *kākaṇa,°ṇikā*.

Page 92. **sūtrāntaka** Pali *suttantika*; versed in the *suttanta* (a chapter of the scriptures, a text, a discourse, a *sutta*). **mānuṣyaṁ saphalīkṛtaṁ:** Śārdūla°, is the metre. **lokaṁ caitya°:** *loka* which is always found in masculine gender is used in neuter, see also p. 116; last verse.

Page 94. **dirgha-daśāni** having long fringes; *cf*. Pali: *dīgha-dasa*. **aṣṭāṅgasamanvāgata upavāsa** "the fast-day with its eight constituents" *i.e.*, observance of the first eight of the commandments of the 'fast-day'. **dhūpakaṭacchuka** a small spoon with frankincense.

Page 95. **samyag gatā ye sugatasya:** The third and the fourth *pādas* are in Indravaṁśā while the rest is in Indravajrā. **praśamadamaratā:** Puṣpitāgrā is the metre. **Mahāvana:** A forest on the outskirts of Uruvelakappa where Buddha retired for his noonday rest after his meal at Uruvela° (*cf*. Malalaṣekera). There was a natural forest called Mahāvana in the neighbourhood of Vesāli (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i. 309)...The Uruvelakappa was yet another Malla town. In the neighbourhood stood Mahāvana which was an extensive forest (*S*. iv. p. 327; v. p. 228; *A*. iv. p. 438). *Vide India as Described*° pp. 53-4. **Anavatapta hrada** is identified with the Mānasa-Sarovara by B.C. Law, *cf. India as Described*°, p.10f. **jinasutāḥ khalu dhyānaratāḥ:** Here the metre is offended. It may be rectified thus: *°khalu dharmaratāḥ:* Drutavilambita is the metre. **Śairīṣaka** *cf*. Pali serīsaka, name of a hall; *D*. ii. 356 sq. *Vv*. 84[53], *VvA*. 331, 351; *cf. serīsa-maha*, festival in honour of the Serīsaka Vimāna: *Vv*. 84[37, 53]. There was also a desert country called Śairīṣaka in the West of India (Sindhu-Sauvīra). But here Śairīṣaka may not be taken as a country, as it is associated with (*pravara*) *vimāna*. This *vimāna* is said to be in the Caturmahārājika world (*cf*. Notes, *Pāṁśupradāna*°). The *vimāna* was called Śairīṣaka because there was at its entrance, a large *śirīṣa* tree.

Page 96. **Piṇḍola-Bharadvāja :** Pali, °Bhāradvāja: He was a son of a chaplain of king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. He belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra*. He was well-versed in the Vedas and was a successful teacher. Later on, he disliked his profession and went to Rājagṛha. There he saw heaps of gifts bestowed on Buddha's disciples. He was very greedy and so joined the Order. Afterwards, following Buddha's advice, he conquered his greed and became an Arhat.

He was called Piṇḍola because he entered the Order for greed of food (*piṇḍaṁ ulamāno pariyesamāno pabbajito ti*). *A.* i. 23; *Vin.* ii. 110f.; *J.* iv. 375ff.

Page 97. **pratyeka-buddhāśraya** 'one who has taken the form or body (*āśraya*) of Pratyeka Buddha'. **araṇā-vihārin** one who is living in solitude. Or *a-raṇa* 'not fighting'=*ahiṁsā* non-violence, *maitrī* friendliness; thus *araṇā-vihārin* means *maitrī-vihārin; cf.* Pali. Vasantatilaka is the metre.

Page 98. **buddhāvataṁsaka** a garland of Buddhas. By miracles or psychic power, innumerable Buddhas were shown who looked like a garland of Buddhas and covered the space between the earth and the heaven of the *akaniṣṭha* gods (said to be the highest point of the universe). **tīrthya (tīrthika)** a heretic. Vasantatilaka is the metre. **Sāṁkāśya** a city 30 leagues from Śrāvastī. **utpalavarṇayā ca nirmitā cakravarti-sampadā** (for *sampad*). According to the *Dhammapada* commentary (iii. 211) the miracle which Uppalavaṇṇā volunteered to perform (but Buddha did not allow, *ThigA.* 190, 195.) was the metamorphosis of a *cakkavattin*, with a retinue extending for thirty-six leagues, paying homage to Buddha.

Page 99. **Anātha-piṇḍada-duhitā Sumāgadhā :** According to the Pali scriptures, she was called Cūḷa-Subhaddā (or Mahā-Subhaddā: there is confusion in the stories of these two sisters). *Vide DhA.* iii. 465ff.; *AA.* ii. 482ff.; *AA.* i. 146, 148f. and *Vsm.* 390. **sumāgadhāyāḥ+upanimantrita= sumāgadhāyā upa° :** After this the *sandhi* which is prohibited is made. **yadā jagāmardhibalena :** Vaṁśasthā is the metre.

Page 100. **pratisammodana** *cf.* Pali: *paṭisammodeti* to greet friendly, in return. **manāpa** pleasing.

Page 101. **vi-kṛ** to contend, compete. *vikkīḷita,* Pali; sporting, amusement, pastime. **niryātay** to give, present; *cf.* Pali *niyyādeti* (°*teti*), *nīyādeti*. **rājyaṁ samṛddhaṁ :** The first line of this *śloka* is defective, while the second line is in perfect Upajāti metre. Hence it is clear that the *śloka* was originally in Upajāti. With the least possible alteration I have adjusted the first line. Only in one place in the first *pāda* the metre remains defective. It may be corrected thus: *saṁsthāpya kośaṁ hi samṛddha-rājyaṁ* or *kośaṁ hi saṁsthāpya samṛ°*. Thus it may also avoid the defect which is called *saṁkīrṇatvaṁ* (confused order of words) in Rhetoric.

Page 102. **naigama** a citizen, townsman. **navakānta=navānta** near the novices. *anta=antika: cf.* Pali. **saṁrañjanīya dharma** state of conciliation, fraternal living; *cf.* Pali *sārāṇīya°*. **khādyaka** name of a particular food; Pali *khajjaka* eatable *i.e.* solid food. A kind of sweet (?) *cf. khājā* (Hindi and Bengali). **mā devena kutracid aprasāda utpādita** *mā* used for the simple negative *na*. **ubhayato bhāga-vimukta** "free in both ways" *i.e.* free both by insight and by intellectual discipline of the eight stages of Deliverance.

Page 103. **āgamya** on account of, for the sake of, owing to, with reference to, *cf.* Pali *āgamma*. **niścārita** uttered, *cf.* Pali *nicchāreti* to make come out from, to let go forth, emit, utter, give out. **tricīvara** the three robes of a monk, consisting of: *diguṇā saṅghāṭi* the two-fold lower garment, *ekacciya uttarāsaṅga* a single upper garment, *ekacciya antara-vāsaka* one inner or intermediate garment; *cf. Vin.* i. 289, 296; ii. 302.

Page 105. The chapter is named by us. According to the Chinese translation, here begins the Kunālāvadāna. **abhirūpa** of perfect form, very handsome, beautiful, lovely. **darśanīya** fair to behold, beautiful, good looking. **prāsādika** pleasing, pleasant, lovely amiable; *cf.* the Pali phrase: *abhirūpa, dassanīya pāsādika paramāya vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya* (lotus-ness, lotus-likeness, flower-likeness,; with lotus-like complexion; with beauty of complexion) *samannāgata*, "lovely good-looking, pleasing and adorned with the lotus-like beauty of complexion."

ātta-manas "having an upraised mind", delighted, pleased, enraptured, *cf.* Pali *atta-mana* (*atta-manatā* 'transport of mind'). **upanāmay** to approach, bring near; to offer, present, hand over, *cf.* Pali °*nāmeti*. **sutasya me netravarā** *netra* is neuter but it is sometimes used in feminine gender in fine *compositi* and at the end of a compound. **asti** used here as a mere particle. **kunāla-pakṣin**=citra-kokila.

Page 106. **ārya-sattva** a noble soul.

Page 107. **pṛthagjana** the vulgar, a common worldling, a man of the people, an ordinary man; *cf.* Pali *puthujjana*. The third *pāda* of this *śloka* accords with Indravaṁśā metre. **manasikāra** attention, pondering, fixed thought: *cf.* Pali. **anityādi° : anityaṁ, duḥkhaṁ, śūnyaṁ.** Pali *aniccaṁ, dukkhaṁ, anattā* (*anātman*).

Page 108. **sannāmay** to subdue; *lit.* to bend, to cause to bow. **vihāra-yātrā** "a pleasure walk", a pleasant trip, expedition.

Page 109. **naimittika** astrologer, fortune-teller, sooth-sayer: *cf. nemittaka*, °*ttika*. **gṛhya** for *pra*°. such uses are not rare in Aśoka°, see p. 130, *vide* epics: *cf. Rāmāyaṇa, yuddha*°, 33.39-40; 34.13; 53.43-44, etc. MSS. read **sanmāna** for **sammāna;** *sanmāna* means. 'respect or esteem for the good', but here it is used as a wrong reading for *sammāna*. It is interesting to note that young students in villages of Bengal still pronounce the word as: *sanmāna*.

Page 110. **pra-ghar** to ooze (out), to flow forth, flow out; *cf.* Pali *paggharati*. **aśuci** n. impurity, excrement; *cf.* Pali *asucīka*. n.

Page 111. (**vairaṁ**) **niryātay** to repay, revenge. **dantamudrā** tooth-shape seal, a denture, or seal made of tooth (*i.e.* tusk of elephant or the like) ?

Page 112. **paura=pura.**

Page 113. **makuṭa=mukuṭa.**

Page 114. **daurvarṇika** bad mark. **kalyāṇa-mitra** (*i*) a good companion, a virtuous or honest friend, a pure friend, (*ii*) a spiritual guide, spiritual adviser; Buddha is the spiritual friend *par excellence*, but any Arhat can act as a spiritual friend or adviser. **vītakleśa** without impurity or affliction; without *rāga, doṣa, moha*. **anityādi-āśraya(aiḥ)** (by) means of *anitya* etc. (*anitya, anātman, śūnya;* meditation on the instability of all things).

Page 115. **burbuda=budbuda** *cf.* Sanskrit: *buḍabuḍa;* Pali: *bubbuḷa, bubbula.*

Page 116. **bhartṛtā**=*pativrata*. **netrāṇi kāntāni :** *netra* meaning 'eye' is neuter. The word is masculine in a different sense. Ignoring such difference of meaning, it is used here in both the genders.

Page 117. **garbhādhānam upādāya** from his very appearance or existence in the womb, from the very beginning. **yadi tava bhava° :** The metre is Aparavaktra.

Page 118. **gītaṁ kunālena mayi :** The second *pāda* is defective. It may be corrected as: *ciraṁ śruto me*. **vanīpaka** a way-farer, beggar; *cf.* Pali *vaṇibbaka, vani°*.

Page 119. **rathyā-coḍaka** street-rags, the worn out dresses that are thrown in the street. **kathaya kathaya :** This and the following two *ślokas* (p. 120) are in Puṣpitāgrā metre.

Page 120. **avaira-vaira** n. enmity or hostility towards a peaceful, peacable or friendly person. **labdhā'phalasthā° :** This *śloka*, except the first *pāda* is in Vaṁśasthā metre. The first *pāda* was in Indravajrā. To keep uniformity I have added *ye*. Thus the first *pāda* is converted into Indravaṁśā.

Page 121. **na śastravajrāgni° :** This is a combination of Vaṁśasthā and Indravaṁśā. **kenodhṛtāni nayanāni sutasya :** Vasantatilaka is the metre.

Page 122. **kathaṁ hy adhanye :** a combination of Vaṁśasthā and Indravaṁśā. **nakhara** a tool of claw-like form (or function). **jīvanti-śūlā** to impale a woman alive. Pali *jīva-sūla* 'life-pale', a stake for execution. **ghāṭayiṣye=°ṣyāmi** to hurt, injure; *cf.* Pali *ghaṭṭeti*, to strike, beat, knock against. **anāryakarmā yadi tiṣyarakṣitā :** Vaṁśasthā is the metre.

Page 123. **punaḥ praṇamya :** This *pāda* is defective. Better read it: *punaś ca natvā pitaraṁ*. **rājan na me :** The second line of this *śloka* should be read as:

manaḥ prasannaṁ yadi me jananyāṁ yeno'ddhṛte me nayane svayaṁ hi. yeno' ddhṛte is the MSS. reading (which I corrected as : *yayo'ddhṛte*). *Avadānakalpalatā* too retains this MSS. reading: *yeno'ddhṛte. yena* here refers to *manaḥ prasannaṁ. yena prasannena manasā ity arthaḥ.*

AŚOKĀVADĀNA

Page 126. **Anāthapiṇḍada, Anāthapiṇḍika** (Pali) : A banker of Śrāvastī whose original name was Sudatta. After his conversion, for his charities to the poor, he was given the epithet of Anāthapiṇḍada (one who feeds the destitute). In Rājagṛha where he went in connection with his business, he met Buddha. At the very meeting he was converted. He invited Buddha to pass the rainy season at Śrāvastī. Buddha accepted the invitation with the remark: "The Tathāgata takes delight in solitude." Having finished his business at Rājagṛha, the banker set out for Śrāvastī, giving orders on the way to his friends and acquaintances to make dwellings, parks and rest-houses and arrange for gifts all along the way to Śrāvastī, in preparation for Buddha's visit. Sudatta looked out for a quiet place near Śrāvastī where Buddha and the monks might dwell. The park of Jetakumāra attracted him. He bought the park with an exorbitant price and erected there the famous Jetavana-Vihāra. As a result of this and of his other numerous charities, Anātha° was recognised as the chief of all almsgivers. It is said he spent 18 crores to purchase the Jetavana and about the same sum in construction of the Vihāra. While dedicating the park to Buddha, he spent another sum of 18 crores in festival. He used to feed one hundred monks daily, in addition to meals provided for guests, villagers, invalids, etc. Five hundred seats were always reserved in his house for guests. **pañca-vārṣika** (°**maha**) : A festival in honour of the Bhikṣus which recurred every five-year. During the festival, the Bhikṣus were served with food and clothes. The first *pañcavārṣika* was celebrated at Rājagṛha in honour of Buddha by Śakra-devendra and Ajātaśatru. *Vide pañcavārṣikaṁ*, the 16th *Avadāna* of the *Avadānaśataka*. **pāṁśu-dāna** "presentation of dust". Aśoka in his former birth while he was a boy of tender age gave alms to Buddha, with a handful of dust which he fancied to be the *saktu* (ground barley-meal). *Cf. Pāṁśupradāna*°.

Page 127. **āśraya-viyoga** separation from the body (*āśraya*), death. **nāhaṁ punaḥ sarvaguṇopapannam :** The second *pāda* of this *śloka* is in Indravaṁśā while the rest is in Indravajrā. With the least possible change, this *pāda* may be rectified thus: *saṅghaṁ samakṣaṁ naradevapūjyaṁ*. **Kukkuṭārāma :** Most of the MSS. read it as Kurkuṭārāma. In Pali and Chinese it is Kukku°. It was a residence of monks from the very ancient time. The *Saṁyutta*° (v. 15f., 171f.) records several discussions which took place there between Ānanda and Bhadda. Hiuen-tsang says that the Kukkuṭa° was situated in the Southeast direction of the old city of Pāṭaliputra. According to him it was built by Aśoka. When Hiuen-tsang visited Pāṭaliputra, he saw only the remains of the foundation of the building. Most probably the accounts of Hiuen-tsang refer to the Aśokārāma which Aśoka built. Pali literature in its records of Aśoka's deeds makes no mention of Kukkuṭa° existing in his time. On the other hand, Sanskrit texts such as the *Divyāvadāna* frequently refer to it. We may conclude from the above records that Aśoka constructed the Aśokārāma on the site of the old monastery Kukkuṭa°, and the former was known by both the names in the time of Aśoka. Kukkuṭārāma was built by Kukkuṭa, a Banker of Kauśāmbī.

Page 128. **āhāra** n. It should be masculine. **dākṣiṇyād anṛtaṁ :** Śārdūla° is the metre of this and the following *śloka*.

Page 129. **pratiśiṣyate'sman nacirājñā :** No longer my command is obeyed. Today my command as manieth as I have in my mind is like a stream that is turned back when struck at the rock of the great mountain. *mama yāvatithā manasā sā* (*ājñā*) "that (command) as manieth as (*yāvatithā*) in my mind." °**śilātale vihatāvan nadī :** The affix *vat* or *vati* is wrongly added here to the adjective. It should be °*vihatā nadīvat*. **bhraṣṭāsthāyatana** "one who has lost confidence and position (*āyatana*). **bhadramukha** "one whose face brings blessings", a complimentary address

like 'my noble & friend'; *cf.* Pali *bhadda°*. **apaścimaṁ=paścimaṁ** the last, *nāsti paścimaṁ yasya* "that which is followed by nothing else" *i.e.* the last.

Page 130. **gataṁ svabhāvaṁ** *śūnyatāṁ gatam. śūnyasvabhāvatāṁ gatam.* **tat tathā bhujyatāṁ yena** *yena saṅghena mama tat paścimaṁ pradānaṁ tathā bhujyatāṁ yathā. . .* **ekacchatrasamu°**: Śārdūla° is the metre. **saṁvega** agitation, fear, anxiety: religious emotion (caused by contemplation of miseries of the world).

Page 131. **bhṛtyaiḥ sa°**: Vasantatilaka is the metre. Before the paragraph marked with number 3, Chl adds this obscure passage: "Tradition teaches us that among the kings of the following generation who were powerful by their riches, none equalled king Aśoka, (although) his ministers had prevented him (from being ruined).

"When we are in power, and while we have not yet fallen into misfortune, we must with all our efforts acquire merits."

The sense of this passage seems to be: "Inspite of the endeavour of the ministers to prevent king Aśoka from squandering away his patrimony, his less generous inheritors were less rich and less powerful as well". The above obscure passage which is not found either in Sanskrit or in Ch2 appears to be an addition. The 2nd portion of this addition is very similar to the precept of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* with which this story begins there. *Vide* Intro, p. lxix. **imāṁ samudra°**: It is in *Vaṁśasthā* except the last *pāda* which is in Indravaṁśā.

Page 132. **dānenāham**: Śārdūla° is the metre. **dantamudrā**: We could not find anywhere what exactly this *danta-mudrā* means. Chinese translated "*dantamudrayā mudritaṁ* as: 'sealed with his (king's) teeth'. **nirharitvā** Pali *niharati* to take out, throw out, drive out.

Page 133. **aśrāddha** without faith, unbelieving. *cf.* Pali *assaddha*. **balakāya** a body of troops.

Page 134. **dināra, dinā°** denarius, gold *denarius:* a gold coin or a certain weight of gold (variously stated as '2 *kāṣṭhā*,' 'one *pala* of 32 *rati*' or 'the large *pala* of 108 *suvarṇa*'). **denarius** (*a*) Roman coin, originally (268 B.C.) of silver, weighing $\frac{1}{72}$ Roman pound, and the equivalent of ten bronze asses. From *c.* 241 B.C. to the reign of Nero, the weight was $\frac{1}{84}$ pound. Nero reduced the weight to $\frac{1}{96}$ pound. (*b*) A gold coin of the same weight as the silver *denarius*, a half *aureus*—called *gold denarius*. It came to India during the first century A.D. **nirodha** suppression, cessation (of senses, consciousness, feeling and being, in general). **śikṣā** precept, discipline.

Page 135. **parvata-carya**(**°caryā**) roaming about a hill; visiting a hill; *cf.* Pali *cārikā* a wandering, journey *°carye' carat* he took a trip to the hill, made a journey to the hill.

Kṣemendra describes the last days of Aśoka in the following *ślokas*:

हेमकोटिशतं दातुं स्थिरोऽभूद् यस्य निश्चयः ।
सत्त्वमेव स्थिरतरः कोशः कुशलशालिनां ।।
साम्राज्ये भूरिविभवः षड्विंशद्भिः स वत्सरैः ।
हेम्नः षण्णवतिं कोटिं ददौ सङ्घाय सत्त्वधीः ।।
ततः कालेन नृपतिर्व्याधिना ग्लानिमाययौ ।
स्थिराणि सुकृतान्येव न शरीराणि देहिनां ।।
तनुमासन्नपर्यन्तां निश्चित्य पृथिवीपतिः ।
भिक्षुभ्यः कुक्कुटारामे द्रविणं दातुमुद्ययौ ।।
तत्पौत्रः सम्पदी नाम लोभान्धस्तस्य शासनं ।
दानपुण्यप्रवृत्तस्य कोशाध्यक्षैरवारयत् ।।
दाने निषिद्धे पौत्रेण सङ्घाय पृथिवीपतिः ।
भैषज्यामलकस्यार्धं ददौ सर्वस्वतां गतं ।।

धीमतः सम्मतेनाथ राधगुप्तस्य मन्त्रिणः ।
ददौ सङ्घाय निखिलां पृथिवीं पृथिवीपतिः ।।
गङ्गाम्बुभाररुचिरां चतुरम्बुराशिवेलाविलासवसनां मलयावतंसां ।
दत्त्वाखिलां वसुमतीं स समाससाद पुण्यं प्रमाणकलनारहितं हिताय ।।
प्रख्यातषण्णवतिकोटिसुवर्णदाने याते दिवं नरपतावथ तस्य पौत्रः ।
शेषेण मन्त्रिवचसा क्षितिमाजहार स्पष्टं क्रयी कनककोटिचतुष्टयेन ।।

Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, the 74th *Avadāna*.

SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA

The Pali Chronicles and *Samanta-pāsādikā* do not carry the Maurya history beyond Aśoka. They create rather the impression that the whole glory of the dynasty vanished with him. His uterine brother Tiṣya-Vītaśoka, son and daughter Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā, son-in-law Agnibrahmā and daughter's son Sumana joined the Buddhist Order.

The *Matsya-Purāṇa* gives the following list of Aśoka's successors: (*i*) Daśaratha (*ii*) Samprati (*iii*) Śatadhanvan (*iv*) Bṛhadratha.

The *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* list of six successors: (*i*) Suyaśas[1] (*ii*) Daśaratha (*iii*) Saṅgata (*iv*) Śāliśūka (*v*) Somaśarman (*vi*) Śatadhanvan (*vii*) Bṛhadratha.

It is difficult to evolve correct history out of these divergent details. The Purāṇas and Buddhist works agree as to Kunāla, together with the Jain writers Hemachandra and Jinaprabhasūri.

(As Kunāla was blind) Samprati (son of Kunāla) is described by Jain and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka. Kunāla's son was Bandhupālita according to the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Sampadi (Sampadin) according to the *Aśokāvadāna*[2] and the *Pāṭaliputrakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri and Vigataśoka according to Tārānātha. Either these princes were identical or they were brothers.[3]

There is mention of Aśoka's sons and grandsons in the following Edicts:

(*i*) The Queen's Edict issued in the 19th-21st year of Aśoka's Abhiṣeka, mentions Tīvara(°la) as his young son by his second queen Kāluvākī (Kāru° or Cāruvākī).

(*ii*) In P.E. VII engraved in the 27th year of Abhiṣeka, Aśoka speaks of the charities of his sons.

(*iii*) M. R. E (Mysore copies), engraved probably in the 26th year of Abhiṣeka, speaks of Āryaputra Viceroy of Suvarṇagiri.

(*iv*) S. R. E. I., engraved probably in the 32nd year of Abhiṣeka, speaks of three Kumāra-Viceroys stationed at Tosalī, Ujeni (Ujjayinī) and Takasilā (Takṣaśilā) respectively.

(*v*) The Nāgārjunī Hill-cave inscriptions record the three cave-dedications made by Daśaratha to the Ājīvikas immediately after his consecretion (*anaṁtaliyaṁ abhisitenā*).

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[1] Mentioned also in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Raychaudhuri: *Political History*°, p. 290.

[2] *Aśokāvadāna* (Sans.) reads the name as: Sampadi and °dī (both) Ch2 transliterates (and also translates) it the same (°di or °dī). The Taisho edition of Ch1 reads it as: *Êrh* (meaning: two, double) *mo-t'i*. If *êrh* is a substitute for 二 (*erh*, meaning two) and again, if 二 (*erh*) is mistaken for 三 (*san*), then it may be Sampadi, or °dī.

In three Chinese editions of Ch1, the prince is named as: *Shih-mo-lou*. *Shi-mo* there, may be taken for Sampa, but *lou* in place of *t'i* makes confusion.

However, it is to be noted here that in other Chinese works, in some *āgamas*, and in a work named: "A Chronology of the Śākyas" (Taisho, no: 2040), Aśoka's grandson is named Sampadi, or°dī.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 290f.

That Daśaratha was not a son of Aśoka but a grandson or great grandson may be known from the following:

The form of Brāhmī letters employed in Daśaratha's inscriptions indicates certain changes to account for which one must allow an interval of time, however short, between Aśoka and Daśaratha.

The Purāṇas agree as to Bṛhadratha being the last of the Maurya dynasty. His historicity is confirmed by the statement of Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita* to the effect that he was assassinated by his general Puṣyamitra. With Bṛhadratha ended the famous Maurya dynasty, about 187 B.C., after reigning for 137 years.

The progressive disintegration of the Maurya empire during the half century that followed Aśoka's death is marked by several facts. According to *Rājataraṅginī*[1], Aśoka's son Jalauka set himself up as an independent ruler in Kashmir and conquered the country up to Kanauj. He is said to have 'crushed the invading Mleccha horde,' which probably refers to an invasion by the Bactrian Greeks. According to Tārānātha, another successor of Aśoka, Vīrasena by name, set up at Gandhāra. Vidarbha also seems to have asserted its independence according to the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. The Greek writer Polybius, writing about 206 B.C., refers to an independent Indian king on the North-western frontiers, Sophagasenus (Subhāgasena) by name. He, or one of his predecessors was probably a Viceroy of a Maurya Emperor, and later declared himself an independent king.

The disintegration of the Maurya empire was further speeded up by the Yavana invasions referred to in Sanskrit texts such as the *Yuga-Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā* and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. The final blow was struck at the empire by the revolt of Puṣyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief of Bṛhadratha who killed his master, while reviewing the army, and ascended the throne.

Vide The History and Culture, Vol. II. pp. 89-90; Barua: *Aśoka*, part 1, pp. 54-7.

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[1] *Rāja°*, I, 115-7.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Addenda

Page 1: The reading *sammārjitaṁ* in the last line of the first *śloka* does not convey any sense. So I have suggested *sāvarjitaṁ,* making the least possible change in the MSS. reading. However, I am not quite satisfied with this reading. Readings like *svāvarjitāḥ* or *āvarjitāḥ* may also be suggested. It is to be noted here that the words *āvarjita* and *āvarjana* are used several times in the Div. *Cf.* p. 171, l.4 (*āvarjita°*); pp. 133, l.9; 192, l.8; 313, l.15 (*āvarjana°*).

Pp. 139-42: Scholars differ about the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism. Barua thinks: "...Conversion to Buddh. faith did not take place before but some time after the conclusion of the Kaliṅga War.... Pilgrimage to Sambodhi (260 B.C.)...may be construed as an immediate result of his conversion."

Bhandarkar writes: "Aśoka was converted to Buddh., in the 8th year of his reign (262 B.C.). But this was also the year when Kaliṅga country was subjugated by him. And scholars have thought that the Kaliṅga War was the cause of it."

Mookerji takes a quite different view: "Aśoka was converted to Buddh., *before* the conquest of Kaliṅga."

Corrigenda

Page	text line	footnote no.	footnote line		
5 ..	..	1	13	read:	*gṛhapati.*
8 ..	..	12	..	,,	*akliṣṭā* for "*avilaṣṭā*".
15 ..	1	..	..	,,	*nītaḥ* for "*nītaṁ*".
30 ..	..	..	1	,,	[1]Chl omits.*
,, ..	..	..	2	,,	its ornaments.*
,, ..	..	..	3	omit:	"i" (before "3-4").*
31 ..	5-6	..	..	read:	*dvātriṁśan ma°* (as in MSS.).
,, ..	..	..	4	,,	anointed for "ointed".
42 ..	..	..	2	,,	athlete.
50 ..	..	..	last	,,	categories for "cata°".
56 ..	..	..	7	,,	Sudatta.
63 ..	..	..	8	,,	contemn for "contempt".
64 ..	..	5	..	,,	Chl reads: *videśeṣu* (*ta fang*).
,, ..	..	..	13	,,	Sudatta for "Sud (Suda°)".
65 ..	13	..	..	,,	*aty uddhṛtam iva.**
69 ..	3	..	..	,,	*vītaśokasy aitat.*
96,97..	..	..	2	,,	Arhats.
120 ..	..	3-6	..	,,	pitiless.
139 ..	5	..	..	,,	Pāṭaliputra.
165 ..	24	..	..	,,	Dhṛtarāṣṭra.
,, ..	56	..	..	,,	**anvāhiṇḍ.**
168 ..	20	..	..	,,	**-kalyāṇaka.**
171 ..	27	..	..	,,	Śrīkṛṣṇa.
174 ..	52	..	..	,,	**kenoddhṛtāni.**

*These are typographical errors. There are more, but I have corrected only those which may create difficulties in understanding the meaning.



Avadanas — Mahayana Buddh in
Mahayana Buddhism — Avadanas